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MEMORIALS OF EDINBVRGH IN THE OLDEN TIME

SIR DANIEL WILSON

FACULTY of PROCURATORS in GLASGOW.

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MEMORIALS OF EDINBURGH

IN THE OLDEN TIME

A New Edition, with extensive Alterations and Additions, and with fresh Illustrations from the Author's Drawings

Memorials of Edinburgh

In the Olden Time

BY

SIR DANIEL WILSON, LL.D., F.R.S.E.

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SECOND EDITION

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MEMORIALS

OF

Edinburgh in the Olden Time

CHAPTER V

THE HIGH STREET

Common Seal of the City of Edinburgh, from a charter dated A.D. 1565. *Vide* p. 93, vol. i. for the Counter Seal.

OWING to the peculiar site of the Scottish capital, no enlargement of the old town beyond its early limits has in any degree detracted from the importance of its most ancient thoroughfare, which extends under different names from the Palace to the Castle, and may be regarded as of antiquity coeval with the earliest fortification of the citadel to which it leads. Alongside of this roadway, on the summit of the sloping ridge, the rude huts of the earliest settlers were constructed, and the first parish church of St. Giles was reared, so early, it is believed, as the ninth century. Symeon of Durham refers to Edinburgh, under the year 854, in reckoning the churches and towns belonging to the bishopric of Lindisfarne. But it is assumed that the parish church dedicated to St. Egidius was erected during the reign of Alexander I. 1107-1124.[1] Fynes Moryson, an English traveller, thus describes Edinburgh in the year 1598: "From the King's Pallace at the east, the city still riseth higher and higher towards the west, and consists

[1] *Historical Notices of the Coll. Church of St. Giles, Edinburgh.*

especially of one broad and very faire street (which is the greatest part and sole ornament thereof); the rest of the side streetes and allies being of poore building, and inhabited with very poore people."[1] The more accurate observation of the eccentric traveller, Taylor, the water-poet, who visited the Scottish capital a few years later, shows his greater familiarity with the wynds and alleys by describing "many by-lanes and closes on each side of the way, wherein are gentlemen's houses, much fairer than the buildings in the High Street, for in the High Street the merchants and tradesmen do dwell, but the gentlemen's mansions, and goodliest houses, are obscurely founded in the aforesaid lanes." But what older chroniclers failed to do has been accomplished for us by the loving fancy of Scott in more than one picturing of his "own romantic town." Describing it as first seen by the wondering eyes of Roland Græme, he says: "The principal street of Edinburgh was then, as now, one of the most spacious in Europe. The extreme heights of the houses, and the variety of Gothic gables, battlements, and balconies, by which the sky-line on each side was crowned and terminated, together with the width of the street itself, might have struck with surprise a more practised eye. The population close packed within the walls of the city, and at this time increased by the lords of the King's party who had thronged to Edinburgh to wait upon the Regent Murray, absolutely swarmed like bees in the wide and stately street. Instead of the shop windows which are now calculated for the display of goods, the traders had their open booths projecting on the street, in which, as in the fashion of modern bazaars, all was exposed which they had upon sale. And though the commodities were not of the richest kinds, yet Græme thought he beheld the wealth of the whole world in the various bales of Flanders cloths and the specimens of tapestry; and at other places, the display of domestic utensils and pieces of plate struck him with wonder. The sight of cutlers' booths, furnished with swords and poniards which were manufactured in Scotland, and with pieces of defensive armour imported from Flanders, added to his surprise." The picture, though a fancy sketch of the sixteenth century, realises what was, to a large extent, familiar to Scott's own eyes, and what we ourselves have often seen in our younger days, when the Lawnmarket was crowded with its linen and woollen booths; and bakers', cutlers', and booksellers' stands protruded from the arched piazzas, or overflowed the straitened booth, and spread out their tempting wares on open stalls. The lower High Street had its own special market booths at the Salt Tron; and itinerant hawkers added to the noise and bustle of what seemed to rustic visitors, as to Roland Græme, a scene of enchantment.

The preceding chapter is chiefly devoted to some of the more ancient and peculiar features of the High Street. Yet, strictly speaking, while every

[1] *Itinerary*, London, 1617; *Bann. Misc.* vol. ii. p. 393.

public thoroughfare is styled in older writs and charters "the King's High Street," the name was only exclusively applied to that portion extending from Creech's Land to the Nether Bow, until the demolition of the middle row, when the site of the Luckenbooths, and even a portion of the Lawnmarket, were assumed as part of it, and designated by the same name.

Here was the battlefield of Scotland for centuries, whereon private and party feuds, the jealousies of the nobles and burghers, and not a few of the contests between the Crown and the people, were settled at the point of the sword. In the year 1520 it was the scene of the bloody fray known by the name of "Cleanse the Causeway," which did not terminate until the narrow field of contest was strewn with dead bodies of the combatants, and the Earl of Arran and Archbishop Beaton narrowly escaped with their lives.[1] Other and scarcely less bloody affrays occurred on the same spot during the reign of James V; while in that of the widowed Regent and their daughter, Queen Mary, it was for years the chief scene where rival factions fought for mastery. In 1571 the King's Parliament, summoned by the Regent Lennox, assembled at the head of the Canongate, above St. John's Cross, which bounded "the freedome of Edinburgh," while the Queen's Parliament sat in the Tolbooth, countenanced in the assumption of the Royal name by the presence of the Scottish Regalia, *the honours* of the kingdom; and the battle for Scotland's crown and liberties fiercely raged in the narrow space that intervened between the rival assemblies.

But the private feuds of Scottish nobles and chiefs were the most frequent sources of conflict on the High Street of the capital; and during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries many a bold baron and hardy retainer perished there, adding fresh fuel to the deadly animosity of rival clans, but otherwise exciting no more notice at the time than an ordinary street squabble would now do. It was in one of those *tulzies*, alluded to in the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, that Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch was slain, in the year 1551,[2]

> "When the streets of High Dunedin,
> Saw lances gleam and falchions redden,
> And heard the slogan's deadly yell."

Neither the accession of James VI nor the attainment of his majority exercised much influence in checking these encounters on the streets of the capital. "Many enormities were committed," says Calderwood, "as if there had beene no King in Israell." The following may suffice as a sample: "Upon the seventh of Januar 1591, the King comming doun the street of Edinburgh from the Tolbuith, the Duke of Lennox, accompanied with the

[1] *Ante*, p. 50.

[2] "In this zeir all wes at guid rest, exceptand the Laird of Cesfurde and Fernyhirst with thair complices slew Schir Walter Scott, laird of Balclewche, in Edinburgh, wha was ane valzeand guid knycht."—*Diurnal of Occurrents*, 1551, p. 51.

Lord Hume, following a little space behind, pulled out their swords, and invaded the Laird of Logie. The King fled into a closse-head, and incontinent retired to a Skinner's booth, where it is said he shook for feare."[1] The sole consequence of this lawless act of violence was the exclusion of the chief actors from Court for a short time; and only six days thereafter the Earl of Bothwell deliberately took by force out of the Tolbooth the chief witness in a case then pending before the Court, at the very time that the King was sitting in the same building along with the Lords of Session.[2] The unfortunate witness was dragged by his captors to Crichton Castle, and there schooled into a more satisfactory opinion of the case in question under the terror of the gallows.

The ancient Cross which stood in the High Street has been frequently alluded to, and some of the remarkable events described of which it was the scene. It was alike the theatre of festivities and executions: garnished at one period with rich hangings and flowing with wine for the free use of the populace, and at another overshadowed by the Maiden, and hung only with the reversed armorial bearings of some noble victim of law or tyranny.[3] In the year 1617 it was rebuilt on a new site in the High Street, apparently with the view of widening the approach preparatory to the arrival of King James, in fulfilment of his long-promised visit to his native city. The King sent word at that time of "his naturall and salmon-like affection, and earnest desire," as he quaintly expresses it, "to see his native and ancient kingdome of Scotland." Accordingly, Calderwood tells us, "upon the 26th of

[1] *Vide* Calderwood, vol. v. p. 116, for a more particular account of dire royal mishaps in the close-head on this occasion.

[2] "Anent walpynnis in Buithis. Item, it is statute and ordanit be the Provest, Bailies, and Counsall of this burgh, because of the greit slauchteris and utheris cummeris and tulzeis done in tyme bygane within the burgh, and apperendlie to be done gif na remeid be provydit thairto; and for eschewing thairof;—that ilk manner of persone, merchandis, craftis men, and all utheris occupyaris of buthis, or chalmeris in the hiegait, outher heych or laych, that they have lang valpynnis thairin, sic as hand ex, Jedburgh staif, hawart jawalyng, and siclyk lang valpynnis, with knaipschawis and jakkis; and that thay cum thairwith to the hie-gait incontinent efter the commoun bell rynging."—*Burgh Records*, 4th March 1552.

[3] "Upone Tysday the nyntene day of Junij 1660, eftir sermond endit, the magistrates and counsell of Edinburgh, all in thair best robis, with a great number of the citizens, went to the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh, quhair a great long boord wes covered with all soirtes of sweit meittis, and thair drank the kinges helth, and his brether; the spoutes of the Croce rynnand all that tyme with abundance of clareyt wyne. Ther wer thrie hundreth dosane of glassis all brokin and cassin throw the streitis, with sweit meitis in abundance," etc.—Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 293.

"Upone the 13 day of Maij 1661, Sir Archibald Johnnestoun of Warystoun, lait Clerk Register, being forfalt in this Parliament, and being fugitive fra the lawis of this Kingdome, for his treasonable actis, he was first oppinlie declairit traitour in face of Parliament, thaireftir, the Lord Lyon king at airmes, with four heraldis and sex trumpetteris, went to the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh, and thair maid publict intimation of his forfaltrie and treason, rave asunder his airmes, and trampled thame under thair feet, and kuist a number of thame over the Croce, and affixt ane of thame upone the height of the great stane, to remayne thair to the publict view of all beholderis. Thir airmes were croced bakward, his heid being put dounmest and his feet upmest."—*Ibid.* p. 332.

Februar, the Crosse of Edinburgh was taken doun ; the old long stone, about fortie foots or therby in length, was translated, by the devise of certane mariners in Leith, from the place where it stoode past memorie of man, to a place beneath in the Highe Streete, without anie harme to the stone ; and the bodie of the old Crosse was demolished and another buildit, whereupon the long stone or obelisk was erected and sett, upon the 25th of Marche."[1] The long stone was less fortunate on a subsequent removal, but the fine Gothic capital, of which we have already given a view, is without doubt a relic of the ancient Cross demolished at this period. Among the older customs of which it was the scene none is more curious than the exposure of dyvours or bankrupts, a class of *criminals* at all times regarded with special indignation by their more fortunate fellow-citizens. The origin of this singular mode of protecting commercial credit is thus related in the Acts of Sederunt of the Court of Session for 1604 : "The Lordis ordaine the Provest, Bailleis, and Counsale of Edinburgh, to cause big ane pillery of hewn stane, neir to the mercat croce of Edinburgh, upon the heid therof ane sait and place to be maid, quhairupon, in tyme cuming, sall be set all dyvoris, wha sall sit thairon ane mercat day, from 10 hours in the morning, quhill ane hour efter dinner ; and the saidis dyvoris, before thair libertie and cuming furth of the tolbuith, upon thair awn chairges, to cause mak and buy ane hat or bonnet of yellow colour, to be worn be thame all the tyme of their sitting on the said pillery, and in all tyme thairefter, swa lang as they remane and abide dyvoris."[2] Sundry modifications of this singular act were afterwards adopted. In 1669 "the Lords declare that the habite is to be a coat and upper garment, which is to cover their cloaths, body and arms, whereof, the one half is to be of yellow, and the other half of a brown colour, and a cap or hood, which they are to wear on their head, party coloured, as said is ;"[3] or coloured, as is enacted at a subsequent period, "conform to a pattern delivered to the magistrates of Edinburgh to be keeped in their Tolbooth."[4] The effect of such a custom, if revived in our day, amid the bustle and fever of railway schemes, and "bubble speculations" of all kinds, could not fail to exercise a striking influence in diversifying the monotony of our unpicturesque modern attire, and giving variety to our assemblies and promenades! How far commercial solvency would be promoted by the frequenters of the Stock Exchange being thus compelled to wear their credit on their sleeve, we must leave these shrewd speculators to determine at their leisure. Cowper, in his "Epistle to Joseph Hill, Esq.," discusses a somewhat analogous device, adopted by an Eastern sage, for distinguishing honest men from knaves, and which consisted in the convicted defaulter wearing only half a coat thereafter ; but he adds, for the comfort of all contemporaries—

[1] Calderwood, vol. vii. p. 243.
[2] Acts of Sederunt, 17th May 1606. [3] *Ibid.* 26th February 1669. [4] *Ibid.* 18th July 1688.

"O happy Britain! we have not to fear
Such hard and arbitrary measures here;
Else, could a law, like that which I relate,
Once have the sanction of our triple state,
Some few, that I have known in days of old,
Would run most dreadful risk of catching cold!"[1]

In the steep and narrow closes that diverge on each side of the High Street were formerly the dwellings of the old Scottish nobility, and they still retain interesting traces of faded grandeur, awaking many curious associations which well repay the investigator of their intricate purlieus. Dunbar's Close, of which we furnish a view, has already been mentioned as the place where Cromwell's "Ironsides" were lodged; but its architectural features are of a much earlier date, and its whole appearance is unique and singularly picturesque. Over the entrance to the Rose and Thistle Tap—the traditional guard-room of the victors of Dunbar,—there is a beautifully carved inscription, bearing one of the oldest dates now left on any private building in Edinburgh—

FAITH · IN · CRIST · ONLIE · SAVIT · 1567 ·

On another part of the building the initials I · D · and K · T ·, attached to some curiously formed marks, are doubtless those of the original owners; but the early titles are lost, so that no clue now remains to the history of this singular dwelling. The lower story, the reputed black-hole of the English troopers, is vaulted with stone; and around the massive walls iron rings are affixed, as if for the purpose of securing prisoners. The east wall of the main room above is curiously constructed of elliptic arches, resting on plain circular pillars, and such portions of the outer wall as are not concealed by the wooden appendages of early times exhibit polished ashlar work, finished with neat mouldings and string courses.

Immediately to the north of this ancient mansion a large land, entering from the foot of Sellars' Close, has two flat terraced roofs at different elevations, and forms a prominent and somewhat graceful feature of the old town as seen from Princes Street. This is known by the name of "The Cromwell Bartizan," and is traditionally pointed out as having been occupied by the

[1] The following Act of Sederunt, for 13th December 1785, describes the latest version of the Edinburgh Cross, prior to its restoration in the year 1888. "The Lords having considered the representation of the Lord Provost and Magistrates of the city of Edinburgh, setting forth, that when the Cross was taken away in the year 1756, a stone was erected on the side of a well on the High Street, adjacent to the place where the Cross stood, which by Act of Sederunt was declared to be the Market Cross of Edinburgh from that period. That since removing the city guard, the aforesaid well was a great obstruction to the free passage upon the High Street, which therefore they intended to remove, and instead thereof to erect a stone pillar, a few feet distant from the said well, on the same side of the High Street, opposite to the head of the Old Assembly Close. Of which the Lords approve, and declare the new pillar to be the Market Cross." We suppose the more economical marking of the old site by a radiated pavement was the only result.

General, owing to its vicinity to his guards, and the commanding prospect which its terraced roof afforded of the English fleet at anchor in the Firth. Over a doorway which divides the upper from the lower part of this close a carved lintel bears this variation of the common legend: THE . LORD . BE . BLEIST . FOR . AL . HIS . GIFTIS .[1] But the old close has outlived its time; and decay and ruin have beset what was evidently once a place of note. A building on the west side, finished in the style prevalent about the period of James VI, has the following inscription over a window on the third floor—

☞ THE LORD IS THE PORTION OF MINE INHERITANCE AND OF MY CUP; THOU MAINTAINEST MY LOT. PSAL. XVI., VERSE 5.

In the house opposite a very large and handsome Gothic fireplace remains, in the same style as those already described in the Guise Palace. In Brown's Close, adjoining this, Arnot informs us that there existed in his time "a private oratory," containing a "baptismal font," or sculptured stone niche; but every relic of antiquity has now disappeared; and nearly the same may be said of Byers' Close, though it contained only a few years since the town mansion built by John Byers of Coates, whose son and heir, Sir John Byers, was born in 1619. The carved lintel over the doorway bore the initials of the builder and his wife, Margaret Barclay—I · B : M · B · 1611—with the motto, BLISSIT BE GOD IN AL HIS GIFTIS. The lintel was removed by Sir Patrick Walker, the later proprietor of Easter Coates, and now appropriately surmounts a doorway of the old family mansion. At the date of this transfer Coates House still stood in the country, though the extending new town was invading its precincts. Sir Patrick Walker was a son of the Rev. George Walker, clergyman of the Scottish Episcopal nonjurors at Meldrum, Aberdeenshire. On the death of his last surviving daughter, in 1870, the whole of the lands of Coates and Drumsheugh, with additional funded wealth, were left for the erection and endowment of a Cathedral to be built on the estate, and, as is believed, in memory of their own mother's name, to be designated the Cathedral Church of St. Mary. The picturesque rural mansion of the sixteenth century now stands in the Cathedral Close, giving a flavour of quaint antiquity to the somewhat formal graces of Sir Gilbert Scott's mediæval design.

At the foot of Byers' Close we again meet with associations connected with more than one remarkable period in Scottish history. A doorway on the east side affords access to a handsome though ruinous stone stair, guarded by a neatly carved balustrade, and leading to a garden terrace, on

[1] In that amusing collection, *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*, written for the purpose of confounding atheists, the following is given as an East Lothian grace, "in the time of ignorance and superstition"—

"Lord be bless'd for all his gifts,
Defy the Devil and all his shifts.
God send me mair siller. Amen."

which stands a very beautiful old mansion that yields in interest to none of the ancient private buildings of the capital. It presents a semi-hexagonal front to the north, each of the sides of which is surmounted by a richly carved dormer window, bearing inscriptions boldly cut in large Roman letters, though now partly defaced. That over the north window is—

NIHIL · EST · EX · OMNI · PARTE · BEATUM ·

The windows along the east side appear to have been originally similarly adorned. Two of their carved tops are built into an outhouse below, on one of which is the inscription, LAUS . UBIQUE . DEO, and on the other, FELICITER . INFELIX. In the title-deeds of this ancient building, it is described as "that tenement of land, of old belonging to Adam Bishop of Orkney, Commendator of Holyroodhouse, thereafter to John, Commendator of Holyroodhouse," his son, who in 1603 accompanied James to England, receiving on the journey the keys of the town of Berwick in His Majesty's name. Only three years afterwards "the temporalities and spiritualitie" of Holyrood were erected into a barony in his behalf, and he was created a peer, by the title of Lord Holyroodhouse. Here then is the mansion of the celebrated Adam Bothwell who, on the 15th May 1567, officiated at the ominous service in the Chapel of Holyrood Palace[1] that wedded Bothwell and the unfortunate Queen Mary, whom he had already secured within his toils. That same night the distich of Ovid was affixed to the Palace gate—

"Mense malas Maio nubere vulgus ait;"[2]

and from the infamy that popularly attached to this fatal union is traced the vulgar prejudice that still regards it as unlucky to wed in the month of May. The character of the old Bishop of Orkney is not one peculiarly meriting admiration. He married the Queen according to the *new forms*, in despite of the protest of their framers, and he proved equally pliable where his own interests were concerned. He was one of the first to desert his royal mistress's party; and only two months after celebrating her marriage with the Earl of Bothwell he placed the crown on the head of her infant son. The following year he humbled himself to the Kirk, and engaged "to make a sermoun in the kirk of Halierudehous, and in the end therof to confesse the offence in marieng the Queine with the Erle of Bothwell."[3]

The interior of the ancient building has been so entirely remodelled to adapt it for a warehouse that no relic of its early grandeur or of the manners of its original occupants remains; but a melancholy interest lingers about its chambers, disguised though they are by modern changes. The name of the Bishop of Orkney appears at the bond granted by the nobility to the Earl of

[1] "Within the auld chappel, not with the mess, bot with preachings."—*Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 111. Keith and other historians, however, say, "within the great hall, where the council usually met."

[2] Ovid's *Fasti*, Book V.

[3] *Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, p. 131.

Bothwell, immediately before he put in practice his ambitious scheme against Queen Mary; so that here, in all probability, the rude Earl and other leading nobles of that eventful period met to discuss their daring plans, and to mature the designs that involved so many in their consequences. Here, too, we may believe, both Mary and James have been entertained as guests, by father and son, while at the same board there sat another lovely woman, whose wrongs are so touchingly recorded in the beautiful old ballad of "Lady Ann Bothwell's Ballow." It is printed under that title, with the tradition associating it with the daughter of the Bishop of Orkney, in Watson's *Comic and Serious Scots Poems*, in 1711. The story was familiar to the late Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, who claimed kin with the old bishop, and cherished it as a family tradition. Lady Ann, the sister of Lord Holyrood, was betrayed into a disgraceful connection with her cousin the Honourable Sir Alexander Erskine, a son of John Earl of Mar, of whom a portrait still exists by Jamieson. As there depicted he has dark blue eyes, a peaked beard and moustaches, in the style of Charles I, and is represented in military dress, with a cuirass and scarf; but the splendour of his warlike attire is unnecessary to set off his expressive countenance. The betrayal and desertion of the frail beauty were believed by his contemporaries to have been visited by the signal vengeance of heaven, on his being blown up, along with his brother-in-law the Earl of Haddington and others, in the Castle of Dunglass in 1640, when the powder magazine was ignited by a servant boy out of revenge against his master.[1] Bishop Adam Bothwell lies buried in the ruined chapel of Holyrood, where on his monument, attached to the second pillar from the great east window, his virtues are extolled in sonorous Latin. But the lament of the nameless old minstrel is a more durable memorial, though the daughter's name finds no place there.

House of Bishop Bothwell.

The front part of the ancient building in the High Street has been almost entirely modernised; but citizens still living remember when an ancient timber façade projected its lofty gables into the street, tier above tier, while

[1] Two stanzas of this beautiful ballad, somewhat varied, occur in Brown's play, *The Northern Lass*, printed in 1632; and other versions have been given by Percy, Jamieson, Kinloch, etc. Dr. R. Chambers, however, was the first to note the true history of the heroine in his *Scottish Ballads*.

below were the covered piazza and entrances to the gloomy "laigh shops,"[1] such as may still be seen in the few examples of old timber lands that have escaped demolition. But this ancient fabric is associated with another citizen of no less note in his day—"The glorious days of auld worthy faithfu' Provost Dick"—than ever was either the Bishop of Orkney or my Lord Holyroodhouse. Sir William Dick of Braid, an eminent merchant of Edinburgh, and Provost of the city in the years 1638 and 1639, presents in his strangely chequered history one of the most striking examples of the instability of fortune. He was reputed the wealthiest man of his time in Scotland, and was believed by his contemporaries to have discovered the philosopher's stone![2] Being a zealous Covenanter he advanced at one time to the Scottish Convention of Estates, in the memorable year 1641, the sum of 100,000 merks, to save them from the necessity of disbanding their army; and in the following year the customs were set to him, "for 202,000 merks, and 5000 merks of girsoum."[3] On the triumph of Cromwell and the Independents, however, his horror of "the Sectaries" was greater even than his opposition to the Stuarts, and he advanced £20,000 for the service of King Charles. By this step he provoked the wrath of the successful party, while squandering his treasures on a failing cause. He was unsparingly subjected to the heaviest penalties, until his vast resources dwindled away in vain attempts to satisfy the rapacity of legal extortion; and he died miserably in prison, at Westminster, during the Protectorate, in want, it is said, of even the common necessaries of life.[4] After the Restoration Sir Andrew Dick, the son of Sir William, obtained the grant of a pension of £432, "until such time as His Majesty shall take course with the principal," which it is needless to say His Majesty never did find a suitable time for doing; and in 1873 Sir Charles Dick, the lineal heir of Sir Andrew's claims—then in extreme old age, and acting as custodian of the Brighton Museum,—renewed application for the pension, which had been continued under successive sovereigns till 1845. This romance of real life was familiar to all during Sir Walter Scott's early years, and he represents David Deans exultingly exclaiming: "Then folk might

[1] In a sasine of part of this property it is styled, "that western laigh booth, or shop, lying within the fore tenement of Mr. Adam Bothwell, under the laigh stair thairof . . . as also that merchant shop entering from the High Street," etc.

[2] *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. i. p. 336.

[3] Sir Thomas Hope's *Diary*, Bann. Club, p. 158. *Gersome*, or *entresse siller*, now pronounced *Grassum*.

[4] These changes of fortune are commemorated in a folio pamphlet, entitled "The lamentable state of the deceased Sir William Dick." It contains several engravings, one representing Sir William on horseback, and attended with guards, as Lord Provost of Edinburgh, superintending the unloading of one of his rich argosies at Leith. A second exhibits him as arrested, and in the hands of the bailiffs, and a third represents him dead in prison. The tract is greatly valued by collectors. Sir Walter Scott mentions in a note to the *Heart of Midlothian* that the only copy he ever saw for sale was valued at £30.

see men deliver up their silver to the State's use, as if it had been as muckle sclate stanes. My father saw them toom the sacks of dollars out o' Provost Dick's window, intill the carts that carried them to the army at Dunse Law; and if ye winna believe his testimony, there is the window itsell still standing in the Luckenbooths,—at the airn stanchells, five doors abune Advocate's Close."[1] The old timber gable and the stanchelled window of this Scottish Crœsus have vanished, like his own dollars, beyond recall; but there is no doubt that the modern and unattractive stone front, extending between Byers' and Advocate's Closes, only disguises the remarkable building to which such striking historical associations belong. The titles include, not only a disposition of the property to Sir William Dick of Braid, but the appraising and disposition of it by his creditors after his death; and its situation is casually confirmed by a contemporary notice that indicates its importance at the period. In the classification of the city into companies, by order of Charles I, the third division extends "from Gladstone's Land, down the northern side of the High Street to Sir William Dick's Land."[2] The house was afterwards occupied by the Earl of Kintore, an early patron of Allan Ramsay, whose name was given to a small court still remaining behind the front building, although the public mode of access to it has disappeared since the remodelling of the old timber land.

Advocate's Close, which bounds the ancient tenement described above on the east, derives its name from Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees,[3] who returned from exile on the landing of the Prince of Orange and took an active part in the Revolution. He was an object of extreme dislike to the Jacobite party, who vented their spleen against him in their bitterest lampoons, some of which are preserved in the Scottish Pasquils; and to them he was indebted for the sobriquet of *Jamie Wylie*. Sir James filled the office of Lord Advocate from 1692 until his death in 1713, one year excepted, and had a prominent share in nearly all the public transactions of that important period. Being so long in the enjoyment of his official title, the close in which he resided received the name of "the Advocate's Close." The house in which he lived and died is at the foot of the close, on the west side, immediately before descending a flight of steps that somewhat lessen the abruptness of the steep descent.[4] In 1769 Sir James Stewart,

[1] Scott says *Gosford's* Close, but it is obviously a mistake, as independent of the direct evidence we have of the true site of Sir William Dick's house, that close was not in the Luckenbooths, the locality he correctly mentions. [2] Maitland, p. 285.

[3] Now called "Moredun" in the parish of Liberton. The house was built by Sir James soon after the Revolution.

[4] Sir James Stewart, Provost of Edinburgh in 1648-49, when Cromwell paid his first visit to Edinburgh, and again in 1658-59, at the close of the Protectorate, purchased the ancient tenement which occupied this site, and after the Revolution his son, the Lord Advocate, rebuilt it, and died there in 1713, when, "so great was the crowd," as Wodrow tells in his *Analecta*, "that the magistrates were at the grave in

grandson of the Lord Advocate, sold the house to David Dalrymple of Westhall, Esq., who, when afterwards raised to the Bench, assumed the title of Lord Westhall, and continued to reside in this old mansion till his death. This ancient alley retains, nearly unaltered, the same picturesque overhanging gables and timber projections which have, without doubt, characterised it for centuries, and may be taken as a good sample of a fashionable close in the palmy days of Queen Anne. It continued till a comparatively recent period to be a favourite locality for gentlemen of the law, and has been pointed out to us, by an old citizen, as the early residence of Andrew Crosbie, the celebrated original of "Councillor Pleydell," who forms so prominent a character among the *dramatis personæ* of *Guy Mannering*. The house already mentioned as that of Sir James Stewart would answer in most points to the description of the novelist, entering, as it does, from a dark and steep alley, and commanding a magnificent prospect towards the north, though now partially obstructed by the buildings of the new town. It is no mean praise to the old lawyer that he was almost the only one who had the courage to stand his ground against Dr. Johnson during his visit to Edinburgh. Mr. Crosbie afterwards removed to the splendid mansion erected by him in St. Andrew Square, ornamented with engaged pillars and a highly-decorated attic storey, which stands to the north of the Royal Bank; but he was involved, with many others, in the failure of the Ayr Bank, and died in such poverty in 1785 that his widow owed her sole support to an annuity of £50 granted by the Faculty of Advocates.

The lowest house on the east side, directly opposite to that of the Lord Advocate, was the residence of an artist of some note in the seventeenth century. It has been pointed out to us by an old citizen still living[1] as the house of his "grandmother's grandfather," the celebrated John Scougal,[2] painter of the portrait of George Heriot which hangs in the council-room of the hospital; so that here was the fashionable lounge of the dilettanti of the seventeenth century, and the resort of rank and beauty, careful to preserve

the Greyfriars' churchyard before the corpse was taken out of the house at the foot of the Advocate's Close."—*Coltness Collections*, Maitland Club, p. 17.

[1] Mr. Andrew Greig, carpet manufacturer.

[2] John Scougal, younger, of that name, was a cousin of Patrick Scougal, consecrated Bishop of Aberdeen in 1664. He added the upper story to the old land in Advocate's Close, and fitted up one of the floors as a picture-gallery; some of his finest works were possessed by the late Andrew Bell, engraver, the originator of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, who married his grand-daughter. Pinkerton remarks of him: "For some years after the Revolution he was the only painter in Scotland, and had a very great run of business. This brought him into an hasty and incorrect manner." This is very observable in the portrait of Heriot, copied in 1698 from the original by Paul Vansomer—now lost. The head is well painted, but the drapery and background are so slovenly and harshly executed that they appear more like the work of an inexperienced pupil. Scougal died at Prestonpans about the year 1730, aged eighty-five, having witnessed a series of as remarkable political changes as ever occurred during a single life-time. He is named *George* in the *Weekly Magazine* (vol. xv. p. 66) and elsewhere, but this appears to be an error, as several of his descendants were named after him, *John*.

unbroken the links of the old line of family portraiture; though a modern fine lady would be in danger of being seized with a nervous fit at the very prospect of descending the slippery abyss.

Following our course eastward we arrive at Roxburgh's Close, which is believed to derive its name from having been the residence of the Earls of Roxburgh. It has, however, suffered a very different fate from the adjoining close. Few of its ancient features have escaped alteration, and only one doorway remains—now built up,—of the mansion reputed to have been that in which the noble earls lived in state. The quaint and pious rhyming legend that adorns the old lintel is represented below. The date carries us back to the year 1586, in which the ancestor of the Earls of Roxburgh, Sir Walter Ker of Cessfurd, died. He was one of the leaders in the affray already alluded to, in which Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch was slain on the High Street of Edinburgh. But the initials I · M · point to a different occupant at that date.

Ancient Lintel from Roxburgh's Close.

Warriston's Close is another of the ancient alleys of the old town which still remains nearly in its pristine state, exhibiting the substantial relics of former grandeur, like the faded gentility of a reduced dowager. Handsome and lofty polished ashlar fronts are decorated with moulded and sculptured doorways, surmounted by architraves adorned with inscriptions and armorial bearings, still ornamental, though broken and defaced. Timber projections of an early date jut out here and there, and give variety to the irregular architecture; while almost beyond the point of sight that the straitened thoroughfare admits of, dormer windows of an ornate character rise into the roof, and the gables are finished with crow-steps and, in one case at least, with armorial bearings. Over the doorway on the west side is the inscription, from the first Eclogue of Virgil, where the poet says of Octavianus:

NAMQUE · ERIT · ILLE · MIHI · SEMPER · DEUS · 1583 ·

If the adulation addressed by the Mantuan laureate to his first imperial patron was meant here to apply to the reigning sovereign in A.D. 1583, James VI was then only in his eighteenth year. Of the other inscriptions,

the only one sufficiently perfect to be deciphered is from Horace, *Ode* xvi. bk. ii. p. 28, with a variation of *ex* for the *ab* of the current text—

NIHIL · EST · EX · OMNI · PARTE · BEATVM ·

The front of this building facing the High Street is of polished ashlar work, surmounted with handsome though dilapidated dormer windows, and is further adorned with a curious monogram: like most other similar ingenious devices, undecipherable without the key. We have failed to trace the builders or earliest occupants; but the third floor of the old land was, in the following century, the residence of James Murray, Lord Philiphaugh, one of the judges appointed after the Revolution. He sat in the Convention of Estates which assembled at Edinburgh 26th June 1678, and was again chosen to represent the county of Selkirk in Parliament in the year 1681, when he became a special object of jealousy to the Government. He was imprisoned in 1684, and under the terror of threatened torture with the boots he yielded to give evidence against those implicated in the Rye House Plot. He had the character of an upright and independent judge, but his contemporaries never forgot "that unhappy step of being an evidence to save his life."[1]

A little farther down the close another doorway invites attention by its ornate inscription and armorial bearings. At one end of the lintel is a shield bearing the arms of Bruce of Binning, boldly cut in high relief, and at the other, the same, impaling the Preston arms; while between them is this inscription, in large ornamental characters—

GRACIA · DEI · ROBERTUS · BRUISS ·

Here the armorial bearings—Bruce impaling Preston—furnish conclusive evidence of the original occupants, and guide us approximately to the date of a building thus standing, with all its original characteristics unchanged, as when it first occupied its site in the centre of the ancient city, before the disastrous conflagration of 1544. Its substantial masonry can have received little skaith from the torches of Hertford's invading army. As appears from the Chartularies of Newbattle Abbey, Andrew, the Abbot, in May 1499 granted his lands of Kinard, in Stirlingshire, to Edward Brus, his well-deserving armiger; and in December 1500 he gave to Robert Brus of Binning, and Mary Preston his spouse, the Monastery's lands, called the Abbot's Lands of West Binning in Linlithgowshire.[2] The builder of the fine old mansion in Warriston's Close was therefore already wedded to Mary Preston, whose arms are impaled with his own over its main entrance, in the year 1500. In the *Book of Retours*, their son and heir, Robert Bruce, appears, and again another Robert, heir male of Robert Bruce of Binning,

[1] Mackay's *Memoirs*.

[2] Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 758.

his father, so late as the year 1600, as owner of lands in Linlithgow, anciently belonging to the prioress and convent of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Elcho, with the church lands of the vicarage of Byning.[1] The Bruces of Warriston's Close were therefore a family of note and influence in their day, who seem to have kept in favour with the Church while its abbots had gifts to dispose of, and then knew how to shape their course when church lands were passing into the hands of lay impropriators. They were the chief residents in the alley in its ancient days of grandeur, and accordingly in all the earlier titles it is styled Bruce's Close.

To the north of the Bruces' lodging is another mansion in the same style and character. Its main doorway is decorated with inscriptions and heraldic devices sculptured in like bold relief. The main inscription, so far as it can now be made out, is GRATIA DEI THOMAS T[OD]. The arms on the shield to the right, apparently three foxes' heads, may be a clue to the name of Sir Thomas Tod, who for a brief period displaced Sir John Murray of Tuchad as provost, amid the distractions of 1524, when the boy-king, James V, was set to govern the realm. The companion shield, that of the wife, bears the Brown arms, a chevron between three fleur-de-lis. Here was the residence in the following reign of Sir Thomas Craig, who won the character of an upright judge and a man of true nobleness of character, during a peculiarly trying period of forty years in the reigns of Queen Mary and James VI. One of his earliest duties as a justice-depute was the trial of Thomas Scott, sheriff-depute of Perth, and Henry Yair, a priest, who kept the gates of Holyrood Palace during the assassination of Rizzio. He appears to have been a man of extreme modesty, and little inclined to take a prominent part in public affairs. Whether from timidity or diffidence, he left Sir Thomas Hope to fulfil the duties which rightly devolved on him, as Advocate for the Church, at the famous trial of the six ministers. He was of a studious turn, and readier in the use of his pen than his tongue. His legal treatises are still esteemed for their great learning; and several of his Latin poems are to be found in the *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*. Although repeatedly offered by King James the honour of knighthood he constantly refused it; and he is only styled "Sir Thomas Craig" in consequence of a royal mandate that every one should give him that title. He was succeeded in the old mansion by his son, Sir Lewis Craig, and had the satisfaction of pleading as advocate, while Sir Lewis presided on the bench under the title of Lord Wrightslands. The house was subsequently occupied by Sir George Urquhart of Cromarty, and still later by Sir Robert Baird of Saughton Hall; before it passed to the more celebrated residenter from whom the latest designation of this ancient alley is derived. The eminent statesman, Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston, nephew of its older inhabitant, Sir Thomas

[1] *Book of Retours*, vol. ii. Nos. 26, 30.

Craig, appears from the titles to have purchased from his cousin, Sir Lewis Craig, the house adjoining his own, on the west side of the close, immediately below the one last described. Johnston of Warriston took an early and very prominent share in the resistance offered to the schemes of Charles I; and in 1638, on the royal edict being proclaimed from the Cross of Edinburgh, which set at defiance the popular opposition to the hated Service Book, he appeared on a scaffold erected near it, and read aloud the celebrated protest drawn up in name of the Tables, while the mob compelled the royal heralds to abide the reading of this counter-defiance. It is unnecessary to sketch minutely the incidents in a life already familiar to the students of Scottish history. He was knighted by Charles I, on his second visit to Scotland in 1641, and assumed the designation of Lord Warriston on his promotion to the bench. He was one of the Scottish Commissioners sent to mediate between Charles I. and the English Parliament; and after filling many important offices he sat by the same judicial title as a peer in Cromwell's abortive House of Lords. On the death of the Protector he displayed his keen opposition to the restoration of the Stuarts by acting as President of the Committee of Safety under Richard Cromwell. On the restoration of Charles II he became an object of special animosity, and having refused to concur in the treaty of Breda he escaped to Hamburg, from whence he afterwards retired to Rouen in France. He was delivered up to Charles by the French king, and after a tedious imprisonment, both in the Tower of London and the old Tolbooth of Edinburgh, he was executed with peculiar marks of indignity, on the spot where he had so courageously defied the royal proclamation twenty-five years before. His nephew, Bishop Burnet, has furnished a very characteristic picture of the hardy and politic statesman, in which he informs us he was a man of such energetic zeal that he rarely allowed himself more than three hours' sleep in the twenty-four. When we consider the leading share he took in all the events of that memorable period, and his intimate intercourse with the most eminent men of his time, we cannot but view with lively interest the steep and straitened alley that still associates his name with the crowded lands of the old town, and the decayed and deserted mansion where he has probably entertained such men as Henderson, Argyle, Rothes, Leslie, Monk, and even Cromwell.[1]

[1] The importance which was attached to this close as one of the most fashionable localities of Edinburgh during the last century appears from a proposition addressed by the Earl of Morton to the Lord Provost, in 1767, in which—among other conditions which he demands, under the threat of opposing the extension of the royalty to the grounds on which the new town is built—he requires that a timber bridge shall be thrown over the North Loch, from the foot of Warriston's Close to Bearford's Parks, and the Public Register Offices of Scotland, built at the cost of the town, "on the highest level ground of Robertson's and Wood's farms." To this the magistrates reply by stating, among other objections, that the value of the property in the close alone is £20,000!—*Proposition by the Earl of Morton.*

The quaint and biting epitaph, penned by some zealous Cavalier on the death of his mother is worth quoting as a sample of party rancour against the Whig statesman—

> "Deevil suell ye deathe,
> And burste the lyke a tune,
> That took away good Elspet Craige,
> And left yᵉ knave her sone."

History and romance contend for the associations of the Scottish capital, not always with the advantage on the dull side of fact. On a certain noted Saturday night, in the annals of fiction, Dandie Dinmont and Colonel Mannering turned from the High Street "into a dark alley, then up a dark stair, and into an open door." The alley was Writers' Court, and the door that of Clerihugh's tavern: a celebrated place of convivial resort during the last century, which still stands at the bottom of the court, though its deserted walls no longer ring with the revelry of *High Jinks*, and such royal mummings as formed the sport of Pleydell and his associates on that jovial night. The picture is no doubt a true one of scenes familiar to grave citizens of a former generation. Clerihugh's tavern was of old the favourite resort of our civic dignitaries for those "douce festivities" that were then deemed indispensable to the satisfactory settlement of all city affairs. The wags of last century used to tell of a certain city treasurer who, on being applied to for a new rope to the Tron Kirk bell, summoned the Council to deliberate on the demand; an adjournment to Clerihugh's tavern, it was hoped, might facilitate the settlement of so weighty a matter, but one dinner proved insufficient, and it was not till their third banquet that the application was referred to a committee, who spliced the old bell rope and settled the bill!

The legendary repute of Mary King's Close has already been referred to. Her name has outlived any definite story; and been so long associated with goblins and the plague, that it is surprising to recover in earlier sasines notices of Alexander King, Advocate, as the chief proprietor there. He figures as notary in several of the St. Giles's charters; gives his name for a time to the close; and was probably the father of Mary King. A punning epigram by Drummond of Hawthornden, "on Mary King's pest,"—though written in no sympathetic vein,—suggests the idea that her name had been perpetuated as one distinguished by social position, and also by creed, among the victims of the plague-stricken close. For Mr. Alexander King, a zealous Queen's man, is noted by Calderwood as "a malicious papist" whose doings, after his return from France, called forth an indignant remonstrance from the ambassador of the English Queen. The visitation of the pest may, therefore, have been popularly regarded as a judgment of heaven on the malignant household.[1]

[1] Calderwood, iv. 414.

"Turne, citizens, to God; repent, repent,
And praye your bedlam frenzies may relent;
Think not rebellion a trifling thing,
This plague doth fight for *Marie* and the *King*."[1]

The old associations of the locality furnished a tempting theme to the author of *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*. He there gives an account of apparitions seen in this close, and "attested by witnesses of undoubted veracity," which leaves all ordinary wonders far behind! This erudite work, written to confound the atheists of the seventeenth century, found both purchasers and believers enough to have satisfied even its credulous author; and its popularity may account for the prevalence of superstitious prejudices regarding this old close. It was, at best, a grim and gousty-looking place, deserted latterly by all but the powers of darkness, as appears from the reports of property purchased for the site of the Royal Exchange. It was nearly all in ruins, having been burnt down in 1750. The pendicle of Satan's worldly possessions, however, which we have now to describe, is understood to be still standing in the nether regions of the Royal Exchange area.

From Professor Sinclair's veracious narrative it appears that Mr. Thomas Coltheart, a respectable law-agent, removed from a lower part of the town to a better house in Mary King's Close. The maid-servant was warned by the neighbours of its being *haunted*, on her first coming about the house, and became so intimidated that she deserted her place, leaving Mr. Coltheart and his wife alone in their new dwelling to defy the devil and his minions as they best might. The good lady had seated herself beside her husband's bed—who had lain down on the Sunday afternoon, being slightly indisposed,—and was engaged in reading the Bible, when, happening to lift her eye, she was appalled by beholding a head, seemingly that of an old man with a gray beard, suspended in mid air at a little distance, and gazing intently on her. She swooned at the sight, and lay in a state of insensibility till the return of her neighbours from church. Her husband on being told of the apparition sought to reason her out of her credulity, and the evening passed over without further trouble; but they were not long gone to bed when he himself spied the same phantom head, by the light of the fire, gazing at him with its ghastly eyes. He rose and lighted a candle and took to prayer, but with little effect; for in about an hour the bodiless phantom was joined by that of a child also suspended in mid air; and this again was followed by a naked arm from the elbow downwards, which, in defiance of all adjurations and prayers, not only persisted in remaining, but seemed bent on shaking hands with them. The poor agent in the most solemn manner addressed this very friendly but unwelcome intruder, engaging to do his utmost to right any wrongs it had received if it would only begone,

[1] Drummond of Hawthornden's *Poems*, Maitland Club, p. 395.

but all in vain. The goblins evidently considered that the devout couple, and not they, were the intruders. They persisted in making themselves at home; though after all they seem to have been civil enough ghosts, with no unfriendly intentions, if they were only allowed the run of the house. By and by the naked arm was joined by a spectral dog, which deliberately mounted a chair, and turning its nose to its tail went to sleep. This was followed by a cat, and soon after by other and stranger creatures, until the whole floor swarmed with them, so that "the honest couple went to their knees again within the bed, there being no standing in the floor of the room. In the time of prayer their ears were startled with a deep, dreadful, and loud groan, as of a strong man dying, at which all the apparitions and visions at once vanished!"

Mr. Coltheart must have been a man of no ordinary courage, or this night's experience would have satisfied him to resign his new house to the devil, or his subtenants, who seemed to have taken a previous lease of it. He continued to reside there till his death without further molestation; but at the very moment he expired a gentleman, whose law-agent and intimate friend he was, being in his house at Tranent,—a small town about ten miles from Edinburgh,—was awoke, while in bed with his wife, by the nurse, who was affrighted by something like a cloud moving about the room. On the gentleman getting hold of his sword, to defend himself and them against this unwonted visitor, the cloud gradually assumed the form of a man; and "at last the apparition looked him fully and perfectly in the face, and stood by him with a ghostly and pale countenance." The gentleman recognised his friend Thomas Coltheart, and demanded of him if he was dead, and what was his errand? whereat the ghost held up his hand three times, shaking it towards him, and vanished. He proceeded immediately to Edinburgh to inquire into this strange occurrence, and arriving at the house in Mary King's Close, found the widow in tears for the death of the husband whose apparition he had seen. This account, we are told, was related by the minister, who was in the house at the time, to the Duke of Lauderdale in the presence of many nobles; and is altogether as well authenticated a ghost story as the lovers of the marvellous could desire. The house after being deserted for a while was again attempted to be inhabited by a hard-drinking courageous old pensioner and his wife; but towards midnight the candle began to burn blue; the head again made its appearance, but in much more horrible form, and the terrified couple made a precipitate retreat, resigning their dwelling without dispute to the powers of darkness.

Several ancient alleys and a mass of old and mostly ruinous buildings were demolished in 1753, in preparing the site for the Royal Exchange. Various sculptured stones then removed were built into the curious tower erected at the Dean, and popularly known by the name of "Ross's Folly."

Several of these, now scattered about the garden grounds below the Castle rock, exhibit considerable variety of heraldic device and ornamentation. But later operations on the same locality, in the construction of Cockburn Street, brought to light a remarkable piece of sculpture, probably of the fifteenth century. It is a domestic scene, executed in high relief, representing with minute detail a deathbed scene, including eight figures. As shown in the accompanying woodcut, four priests are apparently administering extreme unction to a dying person, presumably of wealth and rank. The children

Sculptured stone, representing a deathbed scene; found in Mary King's Close.

kneel by the bed; and at its foot a boy leans on a cabinet in an attitude strikingly suggestive of grief. This curious piece of mediæval art is now in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries.[1] A richly carved head of a doorway, in a style fully a century later, with decorated ogee arch, crockets and finial, and surmounted by shields, is built into a modern erection at the foot of Craig's Close. It nearly corresponds with another in a more dilapidated state in the Princes Street gardens, tending to show the important character of the buildings that formerly occupied this site. There is also a lintel, bearing the Somerville arms and the date 1658, with an inscription, now nearly effaced, and the initials I.S., possibly those of James, tenth Lord Somerville.

[1] *Proceedings* of S. A. Scot., vol. viii. pl. 3.

A vague tradition of Queen Mary's presence long flitted about the locality to the east of Mary King's Close; and when the civic reformers of the eighteenth century appropriated the entire area between that and Craig's Close, the legendary fancy appears to have located itself definitely in Anchor Close. In our search after evidence for its foundation we have been successful in identifying the site of a long-vanished mansion in its vicinity where Queen Mary spent her last night in Edinburgh. Among the alleys swept away in 1753 to make room for the Royal Exchange, Stewart's Close lay immediately to the east of Mary King's Close; and at its head, fronting the High Street, on the site of the present entrance to the Royal Exchange, stood the house of the Provost, Sir Simon Preston, to which the captive Queen was brought after her surrender to the confederate lords at Carberry Hill on the 1st of June 1567. This entirely accords with the narrative of Archbishop James Beatoun, who, writing immediately after the event, says "Thay logit hir majestie in the provost's loging, fornent the Croce, upon the north syd of the gait."[1] There are few spots of greater historical interest in the old capital of the Stuarts. But the lodging of Sir Simon Preston, which would have formed so notable a feature in the High Street, had been superseded by later buildings before the site was appropriated for the Royal Exchange.

The old land at the head of Craig's Close, fronting the main street, claims notice as occupying the site of Andrew Hart the famous old printer's "heich buith, lyand within the foir tenement of land upone the north syd of the Hie Streit."[2] By a curious coincidence it became, after the lapse of two centuries, the residence of the celebrated bibliopolist, Provost Creech, and the scene of his famed morning levees; and more recently the dwelling of Mr. Archibald Constable, from whose establishment so many of the highest productions of Scottish literature emanated. The printing-house of the old typographer still stands a little way down the close, on the east side. It is a picturesque substantial stone tenement, with large and neatly moulded windows, retaining traces of the mullions that anciently divided them. The lower crowstep of the north gable bears a shield adorned with the Sinclair arms; and carved stone corbels, whereon have formerly rested antique timber projections, project from the several floors. Over a sculptured doorway is the motto, MY · HOIP · IS · CHRYST · with the initials A · S · and M · K ·, with a curious device containing the letter S entwined with a cross, and the date 1593. An interesting relic preserved in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries, is thus described in the list of donations for 1828: "A very perfect ancient Scottish spear, nearly fifteen feet long, which has been preserved from time immemorial, within the old printing-office in Craig's Close, supposed to have been the workshop of the celebrated printer, Andro Hart." In the memorable tumult on the 17th December

[1] Laing, ii. 113.

[2] Andrew Hart's Will.—*Bann. Misc.* vol. ii. p. 247.

1596, already described, when the King was besieged in the Tolbooth by the excited citizens, Andrew Hart is specially mentioned as one of the foremost in the rising that produced such terror and indignation in King James's mind; in so much so, that he was soon after warded in the Castle of Edinburgh, at His Majesty's instance, as one of the chief authors of "that seditious stirring up and moving of the treasonable tumult and uproare that was in the burgh."[1] We can fancy the sturdy old printer sallying out from the close, at the cry of "*Armour! armour!*" hastily armed with his long spear and jack, and joining the excited burghers that mustered from every booth and alley to lay siege to the affrighted monarch in the Tolbooth; or to help "the worthy Deacon Watt" in freeing him from his ignoble durance.

The house which stands between the fore and back lands of the famed typographer was during the last century one of the best frequented taverns in the neighbourhood of the Cross, and a favourite resort of some of the most noted of the clubs, by means of which the citizens of that period were wont to seek relaxation. Foremost among those was the Cape Club, celebrated in Fergusson's poem of "Auld Reekie." The scene of meeting for a considerable period, where Cape Hall was nightly inaugurated, was in James Mann's at the Isle of Man Arms, Craig's Close. There a perpetual *High Jinks* was kept up, each member receiving on his election a peculiar name and character which he was ever afterwards expected to maintain. This feature, however, was by no means peculiar to the Cape Club, but formed a characteristic of nearly all the convivial meetings of the capital, so that a sketch of "the Knights of the Cape" will suffice as a sample of these old Edinburgh social unions. The Club appears from its minutes to have been duly constituted, and the mode of procedure finally fixed, in the year 1764; it had, however, existed long before, and the name and peculiar forms which it then adopted were derived from the characters previously assumed by its leading members. Its insignia were, first, a cape, or crown, worn by the *Sovereign of the Cape* on state occasions, and which in the palmy days of the Club its enthusiastic devotees adorned with gold and jewels; and, second, two maces in the form of huge steel pokers, which formed the sword and sceptre of his majesty in Cape Hall; from whence they were transferred to the lobby of the Society of Antiquaries.

The first Sovereign of the order was Thomas Lancashire, the once celebrated comedian, for whom Fergusson wrote the epitaph—

> "Alas! poor Tom, how oft, with merry heart,
> Have we beheld thee play the sexton's part!
> Each merry heart must now be grieved to see
> The sexton's dreary part performed on thee."

The comedian rejoiced in the title of *Sir Cape*, and in right of his sovereignty

[1] Calderwood's *Hist.* vol. v. pp. 512, 520, 535.

gave name to the Club, while the title of *Sir Poker*, which pertained to its oldest member, James Aitken, suggested the insignia of royalty. Tom Lancashire was succeeded on the throne by David Herd, the well-known editor of what Scott calls the first classic edition of Scottish songs, whose knightly sobriquet was *Sir Scrape*. His secretary was Jacob More, the landscape painter;[1] and among his subjects may be mentioned the celebrated historical painter, Alexander Runciman, *Sir Brimstone;* Robert Fergusson the poet, dubbed *Sir Precentor*, most probably from his fine musical voice; Gavin Wilson, the poetical shoemaker, author of a collection of masonic songs published in 1788, whose club title was *Sir Macaroni;* Walter Williamson, of Cardrona, Esq., a thorough specimen of the rough *bon vivant* laird of the last age; Walter Ross, the antiquary; Sir Henry Raeburn, who had already been dubbed a knight, under the title of *Sir Toby*, ere George IV gave him that of Sir Henry; with a host of other knights of great and little renown, of whom we shall only specify *Sir Lluyd*, as the notorious William Brodie was styled. Some ingenious member has drawn on the margin of the minutes of his election, 27th April 1773, a representation of his last public appearance, on the new drop of his own invention, some fifteen years later. The old books of the Club abound with such pencilled illustrations and commentaries, in which the free touch of Runciman may occasionally be traced among ruder sketches of less practised hands. The most interesting is a sketch of Fergusson in his character of *Sir Precentor*, which possesses a peculiar value as being the only likeness of the poet that has been preserved: if we except the head of the prodigal in Runciman's historical picture, for which he undoubtedly sat.

The following was the established form of inauguration of a Knight of the Cape. The novice on making his appearance in Cape Hall was led up to the Sovereign by two knightly sponsors, and having made his obeisance, was required to grasp the large poker with his left hand, and laying his right hand on his breast, the oath *de fideli* was administered to him by the Sovereign, the knights present all standing uncovered:—

> "I swear devoutly by this light,
> To be a true and faithful Knight,
> With all my might,
> Both day and night.
> So help me Poker!"

Having then reverentially kissed the larger poker, and continuing to grasp it, the Sovereign raised the smaller poker with both his royal fists, and aiming three successive blows at the novice's head, he pronounced, with

[1] Jacob More was a pupil of Alexander Runciman. He went to Rome about 1773, where he acquired a high reputation as a landscape painter. He applied his art to the arrangement of the gardens of the Prince Borghese's villa, near the Porta Pinciana, with such taste as excited the highest admiration of the Italians.—*Fuseli.*

each, one of the initial letters of the motto of the Club, C. F. D., explaining their import to be *Concordia Fratrum Decus.* The knight-elect was then called upon to recount some adventure which had befallen him, and from this the Sovereign devised the title conferred on him, which he ever after bore in Cape Hall. This description of the mode of inauguration into the knightly order will explain the allusions in Fergusson's poem—

> "But chief, O Cape! we crave thy aid,
> To get our cares and poortith laid.
> Sincerity, and genius true,
> Of Knights have ever been the due.
> Mirth, music, porter deepest dyed,
> Are never here to worth denied;
> And health, o' happiness the queen,
> Blinks bonny, wi' her smile serene."

The Club, whose honours were thus carefully hedged in by solemn ceremonial, established its importance by deeds consistent with its lofty professions; among which may be specified the gift by his majesty of the Cape to His Majesty of Great Britain in 1778 of a contribution from the knights, of one hundred guineas, "to assist His Majesty in raising troops." The entry money, which was originally half-a-crown, gradually rose to a guinea, and the Club seems to have latterly assumed a very aristocratic character. A due regard for economy, however, remained with it to the last. On the 10th of June 1776 it is resolved, "that they shall at no time take bad half-pence from the house, and also, recommend it to the house to take none from them!" and one of the last items entered on their minutes arises from an intimation of the landlord that he could not afford them suppers under sixpence each, when it is magnanimously determined by the Club, in full conclave, "that the suppers shall be at the old price of fourpence-halfpenny!" *Sir Cape*, the comedian, appears to have eked out the scanty rewards of the drama by himself maintaining a tavern at the head of the Canongate, which was for some time patronised by the Knights of the Cape. They afterwards paid him occasional visits at Comedy Hut, New Edinburgh, a house which he opened beyond the precincts of the North Loch about the year 1770, and there they held their ninth Grand Cape, as their great festival was styled, on the 9th of June of that year. This sketch of one of the most famous convivial clubs of last century will give some idea of the revels in which grave councillors and senators were wont to engage, when each slipped off his professional formality along with his black coat and three-tailed wig, and bent his energies to the task of such merry fooling. The same haunt of revelry and wit witnessed in the year 1785 the once celebrated charlatan, Dr. Katterfelto—immortalised by Cowper in *The Task*, among the quackeries of old London—

"With his hair on end,
At his own wonders wondering for his bread!"

His advertisement[1] sets forth his full array of titles, as Professor of Experimental Philosophy, Lecturer on Electricity, Chemistry, and Sleight of Hand, etc.; and announces to his patrons and the public that the music begins at six, and the lecture at seven o'clock, at Craig's Close, High Street.

Another of the old lanes of the High Street, which has been an object of special note to the local antiquary, is Anchor Close; its fame is derived, in part at least, from the famous corps of Crochallan Fencibles, celebrated by Burns both in prose and verse: a convivial club, whose festive meetings were held in Daniel Douglas's tavern at the head of the alley. Burns was introduced to this club in 1787 while in Edinburgh superintending the printing of his poems, when, according to custom, one of the corps was pitted against the poet in a contest of wit and irony. Burns bore the assault with good humour, and entered into the full spirit of the meeting; but he afterwards paid his antagonist the compliment of acknowledging that "he had never been so abominably thrashed in all his life!" The name of this gallant corps, which has been the subject of *learned conjecture*, is the burden of a Gaelic song, with which the landlord occasionally entertained his guests.[2] The Club was founded by William Smellie, author of the *Philosophy of Natural History*, editor of the first edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and otherwise intimately associated with the literary work of the period. Burns was strongly attracted to him by his social disposition, literary tastes, and shrewd caustic wit. He has left a portrait of his friend in an impromptu poetical sketch, which helps us to realise their duels of wit and raillery in the old Anchor Close, where Smellie

"to Crochallan came,
The old cocked hat, the gray surtout, the same;
His bristling beard just rising in its might;
'Twas four long nights and days till shaving-night;
His uncombed grizzly locks, wild-staring, thatched
A head for thought profound and clear unmatched;
Yet though his caustic wit was biting rude
His heart was warm, benevolent, and good."

Among the members of the Crochallan Club who shared in its jovial encounters of wit and revelry were the Honourable Henry Erskine, Lords Newton and Gillies, Dr. Gilbert Stuart, with other men eminent for wit, learning, and rank. Mr. Smellie may be regarded as in some degree the *genius loci* of the old close. The distinguished printing-house which he established was in the recesses of the same alley which was guarded at its entry by the headquarters of the Crochallan Fencibles; and there the most

[1] *Caledonian Mercury*, 24th January 1788.
[2] Kerr's *Life of William Smellie*, vol. ii. p. 256.

eminent literary men of that period superintended the printing of works that have made the press of the Scottish capital celebrated throughout Europe. There was the haunt of Drs. Blair, Beattie, Black, Robertson, Adam Fergusson, Adam Smith, Lords Monboddo, Hailes, Kames, Henry Mackenzie, Arnot, Hume, and, foremost among the host, the poet Burns, of whom some interesting traditions are preserved in the office. The old desk is still shown at which they revised their *proofs;* and the well-used desk-stool, treasured as a valuable heirloom, bears an inscription setting forth that it is "the stool on which Burns sat while correcting the proofs of his poems, from December 1786 to April 1787." Not even the famed Ballantyne press can compete with this venerable haunt of the Scottish *literati*, whose very "*devils*" have consumed more valuable manuscript in kindling the office fires than would make the fortunes of a dozen modern autograph collectors! It need not surprise us to learn that even the original manuscripts of Burns were converted to such homely purposes: the estimation of the poet being very different in 1787 from what it has since become.

Of traditions of an earlier date the Anchor Close has its full share; and the general character of the old buildings that rear their tall and irregular fronts along its west side still attests its early importance. Immediately on entering the close from the High Street the visitor discovers this inscription, tastefully carved over the first entrance within the pend: THE · LORD · IS · ONLY · MY · SVPORT ·; and overhead, above one of the windows facing down the close, a carved stone bears a shield with the date 1569, and, on its third and fourth quarters, a pelican feeding her young with her own blood. Over another doorway a little farther down is this pious legend: O · LORD · IN · THE · IS · AL · MY · TRAIST · Here was the approach to *Daunie Douglas's* haunt of the Crochallan corps. It is mentioned under the name of the Anchor Tavern in a deed of renunciation by James Deans of Woodhouselee, Esq., in favour of his daughter, dated 1713, and still earlier references allude to its occupants as vintners. The portion of this building which faces the High Street retains associations of a different character, adding another to the numerous examples of the simpler notions of our ancestors who felt their dignity in no way endangered when "the toe of the peasant came so near the heel of the courtier." It is styled in most of the title-deeds "Lord Forglen's land," so that on one of the stories of the same building that furnished accommodation to the old tavern resided Sir Alexander Ogilvie, Bart., one of the Commissioners of the Union, and for many years a senator of the College of Justice under the title of Lord Forglen. Fountainhall records some curious notes of an action brought against him by Sir Alexander Forbes of Tolquhoun for stealing a gilded maser cup out of his house. The cup was at length accidentally discovered in the hands of a goldsmith at Aberdeen, to whom Sir Alexander had himself entrusted it some years before

to be repaired. He forgot it, and so it lay there unrelieved, in security for the goldsmith's charge of half-a-crown! It finally cost its rash and, as it appears, vindictive owner a penalty of 10,000 merks, the half only of the fine at first awarded against him.

Perhaps too little attention has been given to the confused tradition as to Queen Mary's occupation of the ancient building at the head of Anchor Close at some time or other. The Crochallan Fencibles were wont to date their printed circulars from "Queen Mary's council-room," and the great hall in which they met, and in which also the Society of Antiquaries long held its anniversary meetings, bore the name of the CROWN. But the statement in a history of the close, privately printed by Mr. Smellie in 1843, as "a remarkable fact" that there existed formerly a niche in the wall of this room where Mary's crown was deposited when she sat in council, was little calculated to invite any serious investigation of the story. The true interest attached to the locality is due to it as the well-authenticated scene of literary labours and convivial license among the wits, poets, and philosophers of a later age. The building has still the appearance of having been a mansion of note in earlier times. In addition to the inscriptions already mentioned, beautifully cut in ornamental lettering, it is decorated with bold string-courses, following with picturesque irregularity every varying level and projection, in a fashion that produces some of the most characteristic features of the ancient private buildings of Edinburgh. It corresponds also to others of the same class, already described, in having four large windows placed so close together, two on each floor, as to convey the idea of one lofty window divided by a narrow mullion and transom. In the interior decayed panelling, and mutilated yet handsome oak balustrades, still attest the former dignity of this traditional resort of Queen Mary.

Over the entrance to a house down the close, where the Bill Chamber was during the greater part of last century, the initials and date W · R·, C · M · 1616, are cut in large letters; and the house immediately below presents the only instance we have met with of a carved inscription over an interior doorway. It occurs above the entrance to a small inner room in the sunk floor of the house; but the wall rises above the roof and is finished with crow-steps, so that the portion now enclosing it appears to be a later addition. The suggestive motto accords with the occupation of the house by more dignified tenants than its straitened dimensions might seem to imply, and serves to illustrate the limited accommodation that sufficed for the dwelling of a wealthy burgess in the seventeenth century:—

W . F . ANGVSTA . AD . VSVM . AVGVSTA . B . G .

The initials are those of William Fowler, merchant burgess; the father in all probability of William Fowler, the poet, who was secretary to Queen

Anne of Denmark, and whose sister was the mother of Drummond of Hawthornden. At a later period this mansion formed the residence of Sir George Drummond, Lord Provost of Edinburgh in the years 1683 and 1684, and probably a descendant of the original owner. In his time, and subsequently in that of Lord Forglen, the lower ground appears to have been laid out in gardens, sloping down to the North Loch. In Burns's days it had for an occupant one of his Crochallan cronies, "rattlin', roarin' Willie Dunbar," an uncommonly merry, uproarious, good fellow, who when he unbent himself in the hours of mirthful relaxation appeared as Colonel of the Crochallans; but in his official duties as a Writer to the Signet was held in high esteem as a shrewd man of business. He ultimately filled the office of Inspector-General of Stamp Duties for Scotland.

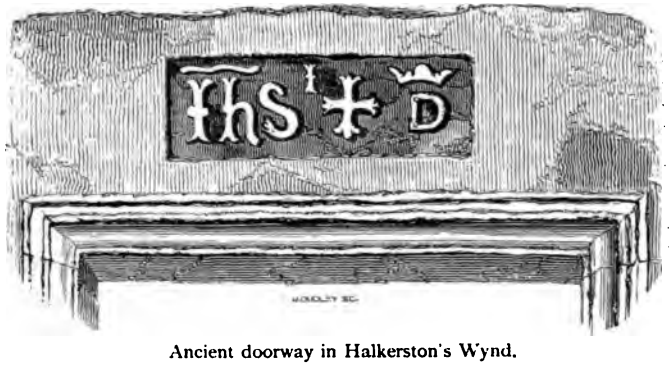
In the vicinity of the Anchor Close, with all its varied associations of past generations, is the Old Stamp Office Close, on the west side of which stands a large mansion, formerly the residence of Alexander, ninth Earl of Eglinton, and his Countess, Susannah Kennedy, of whom some account has already been given in connection with the reputed escape from the Tolbooth of the assassin of their son, the tenth Earl. The Countess was esteemed the handsomest woman of her time. She was brought to Edinburgh in the distracting period of the Union by her father, Sir Archibald Kennedy of Colzean, a rough old cavalier, who had shared in the best and worst achievements of Claverhouse. The late Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, a descendant of the lovely Countess, preserved the traditions of the sensation created by her charms among the rival politicians then assembled in the Scottish capital. Sir John Clerk, the Baronet of Pennycuik, wooed her in verse, and made a formal declaration of his passion to the old cavalier. But on the latter advising with the Earl of Eglinton on the proposal his answer was, "Bide a wee, Sir Archie, my wife's very sickly!"—a hint sufficient to baulk the hopes of the laird of Pennycuik. The Earl, who was then little more than forty years of age, soon after found himself a widower, and, to the infinite chagrin of many younger but less attractive wooers, he "bore off the belle," and made the lovely Susannah his third Countess. Sir John Clerk was the author of the fine Scottish song—"O merry may the maid be that marries wi' the miller," and but for the temptations of rank and title might have been the happy lover; for the Countess was somewhat of a blue-stocking, and the most conspicuous patroness of the Scottish Muses in her day. Allan Ramsay won her special favour. He dedicated to her his fine Scottish pastoral, *The Gentle Shepherd;* and at a later period presented to her the original manuscript of the poem, which she afterwards parted with to James Boswell. It is now preserved in the library at Auchinleck, along with the presentation letter of the poet.

Euphemia, or Lady Effie as she was more generally called, a daughter

of the Earl by his first Countess, married the celebrated "Union Lockhart," and proved an able and uncompromising auxiliary in many of his secret intrigues on behalf of the exiled Stuarts. When not engaged in attending Parliament he resided chiefly at his country seat of Dryden, while Lady Effie paid frequent visits to Edinburgh, disguised in male attire. She used to frequent the coffee-houses and other places of public resort, and joining freely in conversation with the Whig partisans she often obtained important information for her husband. Among the curious reminiscences of bygone times, derived from the family traditions narrated to us by the grand-nephew of Lady Lockhart, the following specimen of the tactics she resorted to furnishes a singularly graphic picture of the manners and ideas of the age of Queen Anne. It chanced on one occasion that Mr. Forbes, a zealous Whig, but a man of profligate habits, had got hold of some important private papers implicating Lockhart, and which he had engaged to forward to Government. Lady Effie dressed her two sons, who were fair and somewhat effeminate-looking, though handsome youths, in negligee, fardingale, and masks, with patches, jewels, and all the finery of accomplished courtesans. Thus equipped they sallied out to the Cross, and watching for the Whig gallant they speedily attracted his notice, and so won on him by their attentions that he was induced to accompany them to a neighbouring tavern, where the pseudo fair ones fairly drank him below the table, and then rifled him of the dangerous papers.

Like other aristocratic Edinburgh mansions, that of the Earl and his fair Countess was appropriated by a younger generation as one of their most favoured convivial haunts; and, under the name of Fortune's Tavern, long continued to be the resort of men of rank and fashion while yet some of the nobles of Scotland dwelt in its old capital. At a still later period it was the scene of the annual festivities during the sittings of the General Assembly of the Kirk. The old Earl of Leven, who was for many years the representative of majesty at the High Court of the Church, annually took up his abode at this fashionable tavern, and there received in state the *courtiers* who crowded to his splendid levees. Still more strangely does it contrast with modern notions to learn that the celebrated Henry Dundas, first Viscount Melville, began practice as an advocate while residing on the third flat of the old land, a little farther down the street, at the head of the Fleshmarket Close, and continued to occupy his exalted dwelling for a considerable time. Below this close we again come to buildings of a more recent period, and in a style of modern refinement such as seemed to the citizens of the eighteenth century the acme of civic reform. Milne Square, which bears the date 1689, exhibits one of these old town improvements, before its citizens dreamt of bursting their ancient fetters and rearing a new city beyond the banks of the North Loch. To the east of this, the first step in that great undertaking demolished some of the old lanes of the High

street, and among the rest *the Cap and Feather Close*, a short alley, divided only by its eastern range of buildings from the ancient thoroughfare of Halkerston's Wynd, of which they formed the west side. When the approaches to the North Bridge were formed the Cap and Feather Close was swept away; but some of its old houses, remodelled in part to adapt them to the novel change, have survived among the lands on the east side of the street. When, in 1460 and subsequent years, Trinity College Church was in process of erection, Halkerston's Wynd was the principal access to it from the High Street. The name of Halkerston occurs repeatedly in deeds of lands in Edinburgh in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. According to one venerable tradition its association with the old wynd commemorated the death of David Halkerstoun of Halkerstoun while bravely defending this approach against the English in 1544. There is, however, more probability in its derivation from John Halkerstone, "master of the fabric," or architect,



Ancient doorway in Halkerston's Wynd.

of the Collegiate Church of Queen Mary of Gueldres. One of the picturesque timber-fronted lands of this venerable thoroughfare long survived the modernising transformations of the nineteenth century; and the accompanying woodcut shows the unique character of the lintel of its main doorway, which remained with a portion of the old walls when the building was taken down. One of the houses on the western side of the wynd, entering from the Cap and Feather Close, had peculiar claims on the interest of every lover of Scottish poetry, for here, on the 5th of September 1750, the gifted child of genius, Robert Fergusson, was born. The precise site of his father's dwelling is unknown, but now that the old locality has been transformed by the indiscriminating hands of modern improvers, this description may suffice to suggest to some, as they pass along that crowded thoroughfare, such thoughts as the dwellers in cities are most careless to encourage.[1]

[1] In Edgar's map the close is shown extending no farther than in a line with Milne Square, so that the whole of the east side still remains, including, it may be, the poet's birthplace.

Availing ourselves of the subdivision of the present subject, effected by the improvements to which we have adverted, we shall retrace our steps, and glance at such associations with the olden time as may still be gathered from the scene of the desolating fires that swept away nearly every ancient feature on the south side of the High Street. The last survivor of all the antique buildings that once reared their picturesque and lofty fronts between the Lawnmarket and Niddry's Wynd was demolished in 1847 to make way for the new Police Office. It had withstood the terrible conflagration that raged around it in 1824, and, with the curious propensity that still prevails in Edinburgh for inventing suggestive and appropriate names, it was latterly known as "the Salamander Land."[1] Through this a large archway led into the Old Fishmarket Close, on the west side of which, previous to the Great Fire, the huge pile of buildings in the Parliament Close reared its southern front high over all the neighbouring buildings with an imposing effect, of which the north front of James's Court—the only private building resembling it,—conveys only a very partial idea. Within the Fishmarket Close was the mansion of George Heriot, the royal goldsmith of James VI;[2] where more recently resided the elder Lord President Dundas, father of Lord Melville, a thorough *bon vivant* of the old claret-drinking school of lawyers.[3] There also, for successive generations, dwelt and still dwells another dignitary of the College of Justice, the grim executioner of the law's last sentence: happily a less indispensable legal functionary than in former days. The present occupant of the hangman's house annually draws "the dempster's fee," at the Royal Bank, and ekes out his slender professional income by cobbling such shoes as his least superstitious neighbours care to trust in his hands; doubtless with many a sorrowful reflection on the wisdom of our forefathers, and "the good old times" that are gone by.[4] The house has been recently rebuilt, but, as might be expected, it is still haunted by numerous restless ghosts, and will run considerable risk of remaining tenantless should its official occupant, in these hard times, find his occupation gone.

Borthwick's Close, which stands to the east, is mentioned in Nisbet's *Heraldry*[5] as having belonged to the Lords Borthwick, and in the boundaries of a house in the adjoining close the property about the middle of the east side is described as the Lord Napier's; but the whole alley is now entirely modernised, and destitute of attractions either for the artist or

[1] We have been told that this land was said to have been the residence of Defoe while in Edinburgh; the tradition, however, is unsupported by other testimony. A slight sketch of it as it stood in its latest isolated condition is included in a volume of drawings and prints, titled *Memorials of Auld Reekie*, in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. [2] Dr. Steven's *Memoirs of George Heriot*, p. 5.

[3] *Vide* "Convivial habits of the Scottish Bar."—Note to *Guy Mannering*.

[4] *Vide* Chambers's *Traditions*, vol. ii. p. 184, for some curious notices of the Edinburgh hangmen.

[5] Nisbet's *Heraldry*, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 106.

antiquary. On the ground that intervenes between this and the Assembly Close one of the new Heriot schools occupies a site of peculiar interest. There stood, until its demolition by the great fire of 1824, the old Assembly Rooms of Edinburgh, whither the directors of fashion removed their "General Assembly," about the year 1720,[1] from the scene of its earlier revels in the West Bow. There it was that Goldsmith witnessed for the first time the formalities of an old Scottish ball, during his residence as a medical student in Edinburgh in 1753. The light-hearted young Irishman has left an amusing account of the astonishment with which, "on entering the dancing-hall, he sees one end of the room taken up with the ladies, who sit dismally in a group by themselves; on the other end stand their pensive partners that are to be, but no more intercourse between the sexes than between two countries at war. The ladies, indeed, may ogle, and the gentlemen sigh, but an embargo is laid upon any closer commerce!" Only three years after the scene witnessed by the poet, these grave and decorous revels were removed to more commodious rooms in Bell's Wynd, where they continued to be held till the erection of the new hall in George Street. Older associations, however, add to the interest of this locality, for on the site occupied by the Assembly Rooms formerly stood the town mansion of Lord Durie, President of the Court of Session in 1642, and the hero of the merry ballad of "Christie's Will." The Earl of Traquair, it appears, had a lawsuit pending in the Court of Session, to which the President's opposition was dreaded. In this dilemma he had recourse to Will Armstrong—a worthy descendant of Johnnie Armstrong of Gelnockie, the famous moss-trooper, executed by James V,—who owed to the Earl's good services his escape from a halter. Will, on learning that Lord Durie stood in his patron's way, promptly volunteered to kidnap the President, and "do as kittle a deed" as any of his daring experiences in Border raid, by "stealing an auld lurdane aff the bench." Watching his opportunity when Lord Durie was riding out, he entered into conversation with him, and so decoyed him to an unfrequented spot called the Figgate Whins, near Portobello, when he suddenly pulled him from his horse, muffled him in his trooper's cloak, and rode off with the luckless judge trussed up behind him. Lord Durie was secured in the dungeon of an old castle in Annandale called the Tower of Græme, and his horse being found on the beach it was concluded he had thrown his rider into the sea. His friends went into mourning, his successor was appointed, the Earl won his plea, and Will was directed to set his captive at liberty. The old judge was accordingly seized in his dark dungeon, muffled once more in the cloak, and conveyed with such dexterity to the scene of his capture that he long

[1] In a sasine dated 1723 it is styled, "That big hall, or great room, now known by the name of the Assembly House, being part of that new great stone tenement of land lately built," etc.—*Burgh Charter Room.*

entertained the belief that he had been spirited away by witches. The joy of his friends was probably surpassed by the blank amazement of his successor when he appeared to reclaim his old office and honours. Accident long after led to a discovery of the whole story; but in those disorderly times it was only laughed at as a fair *ruse de guerre*.[1] In the ballad the bold moss-trooper alights at Lord Durie's door, and beguiles him with a message from "the fairest lady in Teviotdale." The temptation was great to make the most of such choice materials of romance. But there is little doubt as to the general truth of the tradition. The leading facts are related in Forbes's *Journal*, though without names; and Scott tells us that some old stanzas of the ballad were current on the Border in his youth. But as we now have it, it is undoubtedly a modern antique. The ballad of "Johnnie Armstrong" fortunately reaches us in the traditional integrity of an elder generation. As for "Christie's Will," Sir Walter confesses to such eking and patching of its traditionary fragments, that we must content ourselves with the romantic tradition, coupled with the fact of the stolen President's dwelling having stood on the site of the Heriot school in the Assembly Close. Of this there can be no doubt, as it is referred to in the boundaries of various early deeds, in most of which the alley is styled Durie's Close.

Clam Shell Turnpike, from Skene. Taken down 1791.

The Covenant Close has already been referred to,[2] with its interesting old land, surmounted with three crow-stepped gables, forming the most prominent feature in the range of the High Street as seen from the south. The front lands immediately below this and the adjoining close again recall associations with the olden time, though only as occupying the site of what once was interesting; for fire and modern reform together have effected an entire revolution in this part of the town. Over the doorway immediately above Bell's Wynd an escalop shell, cut upon the modern stone lintel, marks the site of the "Clam Shell Turnpike," shown in the accompanying woodcut, an edifice associated with eminent characters and some of the most interesting eras in Scottish history. Maitland only remarks of it: in this close there "is an ancient chapel, which is still plainly to be seen by the manner of its construction, though now converted into a dwelling-house,"[3] to which Arnot adds the more definite though still scanty informa-

[1] "Christie's Will," *Border Minstrelsy*. [2] *Ante*, vol. i. p. 122. [3] Maitland, p. 189.

tion, "at the head of Bell's Wynd there were an hospital and chapel, known by the name of *Maison Dieu*."[1] Like most other religious establishments and church property, it passed into the hands of laymen at the Reformation by an arbitrary grant of the Crown, so that the original charters of foundation no longer remain as the evidences of its modern claimants. It is styled, however, in the earliest titles extant, "the old land formerly of George, Bishop of Dunkeld." Its foundation may therefore be referred with every probability to the reign of James V, when George Crighton, who occupied that see from the year 1527 to 1543, founded the hospital of St. Thomas near the Watergate, about two years before his death, and endowed it for the maintenance of certain chaplains and bedemen, "to celebrate the founder's anniversary *obit*, by solemnly singing in the choir of Holyrood Church, on the day of his death yearly, the *Placebo* and *Dirige*, for the repose of his soul."[2] He is described by Keith as "a man nobly disposed, very hospitable, and a magnificent housekeeper; but in matters of religion not much skilled." There can be no doubt, moreover, that the same old land, which was demolished in 1789, was the lodging of Lord Home, to which Queen Mary retreated with Darnley, on her return to Edinburgh in 1566, while she was haunted with the recollections of the recent murder of her favourite, Rizzio. Her mind naturally revolted from the idea of returning to the scene of his assassination, with its blood-stained floors still calling for justice and revenge against the murderers. "Vpoun the xviij day of the said moneth of March," says the contemporary annalist,[3] "our soueranis lord and ladie, accumpanijt with tua thowsand horssmen come to Edinburgh, and lugeit not in thair palice of Halyrudhous, bot lugeit in my lord Home's lugeing, callit the auld bischope of Dunkell his lugeing, anent the salt trone in Edinburgh; and the lordis being with thame for the tyme, wes lugeit round about thame within the said burgh." Lord Home, who thus entertained Queen Mary and Darnley as his guests, was, at that date, so zealous an adherent of the Queen that Randolph wrote to Cecil from Edinburgh soon after that he would be created Earl of March;[4] and although at the battle of Langside he appeared against her, he afterwards returned to his fidelity; and retained it with such integrity that it involved him in a conviction of treason by her enemies. In the following reign this ancient tenement became the property of George Heriot, and the ground rents still constitute part of the revenue of the hospital which he founded.

Almost immediately adjoining the Clam Shell Land, on its east side, stood the famous Black Turnpike, assigned by the traditions of a later age as the town house of Sir Simon Preston, Provost of Edinburgh in 1567, to which Queen Mary was brought by her captors, amid the hootings and

[1] Arnot, p. 246.
[2] Maitland, p. 154.
[3] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 94.
[4] Keith, vol. ii. p. 292.

execrations of an excited rabble, on the evening of her surrender at Carberry Hill. This ancient building, one of the most sumptuous edifices of the old town, was lofty and of great extent; and the tradition of Queen Mary's residence in it, which had latterly become a universally-credited popular belief, was not improbably traceable to some vague survival of the memory of her actual abode in the immediately adjoining lodging of Lord Home. It was no doubt due to the architectural features which gave it exceptional distinction among the oldest edifices of the High Street, that it was not only associated with names of note and with historical events of the sixteenth century, but was accredited with a fabulous antiquity, and had King Kenneth assigned as its builder. The latest of the name, Kenneth III, surnamed the Grim, was slain A.D. 1005. Maitland, recognising the improbability of such a remote date for the building, obtained access to the title-deeds, and found a sasine of 1461 conveying it to George Robertson of Lochart, son of the builder, which would imply its having been erected early in the fifteenth century. From other evidence it is proved to have belonged in the following century to George Crighton, Bishop of Dunkeld, and was in all probability acquired by him for the purpose of the religious foundation previously described. This appears from an action brought by "the Administrators of Heriot's Hospital, against Robert Hepburn of Bearford," in 1693,[1] for a "ground-annual out of the tenement called *Robertson's Inn*," and which at a subsequent date is styled, "his tenement in Edinburgh called the Black Turnpike." The pursuers demanded the production of the original writs from the Bishop of Dunkeld; and it would appear, from the arguments in defence, that the building had been conferred by the Bishop on two of his own illegitimate daughters, and so diverted from the pious objects of its first destination, perchance as a sort of compromise between heaven and earth, by which to secure the atonement he had in view for the errors of a licentious life. To all this one more fact may be added from the *Caledonian Mercury*, 15th May 1788, the date of its demolition. "The edifice commonly called the Black Turnpike, immediately to the west of the Tron Church, at the head of Peebles Wynd, one of the oldest stone buildings upon record in Edinburgh, is now begun to be pulled down. . . . It may be true what is affirmed, that Queen Mary was lodged in it in the year 1567, but if part of the building is really so old, it is evident other parts are of a later date, for on the top of a door, the uppermost of the three entries to this edifice from Peebles Wynd, we observe the following inscription—

PAX · INTRANTIBVS · SALVS · EXEVNTIBVS · 1674."

The architectural features of the main building fronting on the High Street

[1] Fountainhall's *Decisions*, vol. i. pp. 583, 688.

leave no room for doubt that it was of an earlier date. The turnpike stair is shown in an engraving in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, executed in 1788. The main entrance and windows are pointed, and decorated with weather-mouldings finished with crockets and finials, such as well accord with the earlier date in the fifteenth century. As to the tradition of Queen Mary's abode there on the night after her surrender at Carberry Hill, it appears to be no older than the eighteenth century. The title-deeds fail to show that the building was ever in the possession of Sir Simon Preston, the site of whose lodging when Provost has already been pointed out, in accordance with Archbishop James Beaton's narrative, as "fornent the croce upon the north syd of the gait." As to the inscription, no more inappropriate one could be found for the lodging of Queen Mary on that fatal day.

One more alley remains to be noted, to complete the review of this portion of the High Street. Stevenlaw's Close still contains buildings of an early date. Over a doorway on the west side, near the foot, is this motto: THE · FEIR · OF · THE · LORD · IS · THE · BIGENEN · OF · VISDOM · I · H; and another bears a shield of arms, with an inscription partially defaced, apparently: OCULI OMNIUM IN TE DOMINE SPERAVI. We have not discovered any names among its earlier occupants worthy of note; but immediately adjoining it, on the site of the west side of Hunter Square, formerly stood Kennedy's Close, a locality associated with one of the most distinguished men of letters of early times. In a MS. memorandum book of George Paton, the antiquary, the following note occurs: "George Buchanan took his last illness, and died in Kennedy's Close, first court thereof on your left hand, first house in the turnpike, above the tavern there; and in Queen Anne's time this was told to his family and friends, who resided in that house, by Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees, Lord Advocate." A reference to Edgar's map shows that the close consisted of two small courts connected by a narrow passage, the site of the first of which will exactly correspond with that of the old Merchants' Hall. Here the eminent Scottish historian and reformer closed his active and laborious life on the 28th of September 1582. Finding, when on his deathbed, that the money he had about him was insufficient to defray the expenses of his funeral, he sent his servant to divide it among the poor, adding, "that if the city did not choose to bury him they might let him lie where he was." He was interred on the following day in the Greyfriars' churchyard. The spot cannot now be pointed out with certainty, notwithstanding that, on an application made to the Town Council, so recently as 1701, the "through-stane" was directed to be raised in order to preserve it. It is now replaced by a memorial erected by a bequest of the late Dr. David Laing, the faithful conservator of so much else in connection with Scottish literature.[1]

[1] The following is an extract from the Council Records, 3d December 1701: "The council being

In the centre of the High Street, in front of the Black Turnpike, the ancient citadel of the town-guard cumbered the thoroughfare till near the close of last century, protected by its ungainly utility from the destruction that befell many a building of rare historical interest. During Cromwell's impartial rule in Edinburgh it formed the scene of many of his acts of "guid discipline, causing drunkardis ryd the trie meir, with stoppis and muskettis tyed to thair leggis and feit, a paper on thair breist, and a drinking cap in thair handis."[1] This obsolete instrument of punishment, the wooden mare, still remained when Kay, the caricaturist, made his drawing of the old guard-house, immediately before its destruction; and it is shown in the woodcut, along with the Black Turnpike and the adjacent tenement where, in 1566, Queen Mary and Darnley were entertained by Lord Home. The chronicles of the old place of petty durance, could they now be recovered, would furnish many an amusing scrap of antiquated scandal, interspersed at rare intervals with the graver deeds of such disciplinarians as the Protector, or the famous sack by the Porteous mob. There such fair offenders as the witty and eccentric Miss Mackenzie,[2] daughter of Lord Royston, found at times a night's lodging, when she and her maid sallied out disguised as *preux chevaliers* in search of adventures. Occasionally even a grave judge or learned lawyer, surprised out of his official decorum by the temptations of a jovial club, was astonished on awaking to find himself within its impartial walls, among such strange bedfellows as the chances of the night had offered to its vigilant guardians. The demolition of the Cross, however, rendered the existence of its unsightly neighbour the more offensive to civic

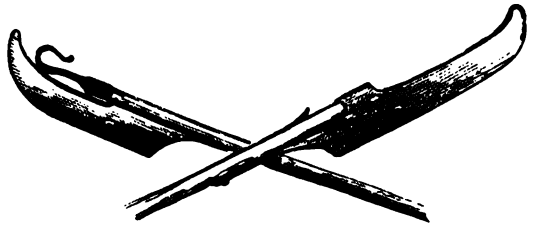
Black Turnpike and Old Guard House.

informed that the through-stane of the deceast George Buchanan lyes sunk under the ground of the Greyfriars, therefore they appoint the chamberlain to raise the same, and clear the inscription thereupon, so as the same may be legible" (*Bann. Misc.* vol. ii. p. 401). The site whereon his dwelling stood would form no inappropriate place for a commemorative tablet to replace the lost "through-stane." Dr. Irving, his biographer, has strangely persisted, in the face of this evidence, to affirm that "his ungrateful country never afforded his grave the common tribute of a monumental stone." (Irving's *Life of Buchanan*, p. 309). A skull, believed to be that of the historian, is preserved in the museum of the University of Edinburgh, and is so remarkably thin as to be transparent. The evidence in favour of this tradition, though not altogether conclusive, renders the truth of it exceedingly probable.

[1] Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 69.

[2] *Ante*, vol. i. p. 219.

reformers. Fergusson, in his *Mutual Complaint of the Plainstanes and Causey*, humorously represents it as one of the most intolerable grievances of the latter, enough to "fret the hardest stane"; and at length in 1785 its doom was pronounced, and its ancient garrison removed to the New Assembly Close, then recently deserted by the directors of fashion. There, however, they were pursued by the enmity of their detractors. The proprietors of that fashionable district of the city were scandalised at the idea of such near neighbours as the *Town-Rats*; and by means of Protests, Bills of Suspension, and the like weapons of modern civic warfare, speedily compelled the persecuted veterans to beat a retreat. They took refuge in premises provided for them in the Tolbooth, but the destruction of their ancient stronghold may be said to have sealed their fate. They lingered on for a few years, maintaining an unequal and hopeless struggle against the restless spirit of innovation that had beset the Scottish capital, until at length, in the year 1817, their final refuge was demolished, the last of them were put on the town's pension list, and the truncheon of the constable replaced the venerable firelock and Lochaber-axe.



CHAPTER VI

THE HIGH STREET AND NETHER BOW

Ancient Doorway, Blackfriars' Wynd.

IN the centre of the High Street, not far from the site of the Tron Church, there stood in ancient times the Tron or public beam for weighing merchandise, generally styled in early deeds and writings the Salt Tron, to distinguish it from the Butter Tron, or Weigh House, already described. It is shown in the curious bird's-eye view of the siege of Edinburgh Castle, drawn in 1573, in the form of a pillar mounted on steps, and with a beam and scales attached to it. This central spot was the scene of many singular exhibitions during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, more especially in the exposure and punishment of culprits. While traitors and political offenders of all sorts expiated their crimes at the Cross, the lesser offences of perjury and knavery were reserved by a discriminating system of justice for the more ignominious though less deadly penalties of the Tron. One of the liveliest of the scenes enacted there during the seventeenth century occurred on the arrival of the news in June 1650 that Charles II had landed in the north. The estates of Parliament were then assembled at Edinburgh, and the fickle populace were already heartily tired of trying to govern themselves. Nicoll, the old diarist, tells us, "all signes of joyes wer manifested in a speciall

maner in Edinburgh, by setting furth of bailfyres, ringing of bellis, sounding of trumpettis, dancing almost all that night through the streitis. The pure kaill wyfes at the Trone sacrificed thair mandis and creillis and the verie stoolis thai sat upone to the fyre."[1]

It has been hastily concluded from this that as Jenny Geddes, the heroine of 1637, was one of the *kail wives* of the Tron, her famous stool—the formidable weapon with which she began the great rebellion, by hurling it at the Dean of St. Giles's head,—must have perished in this repentant ebullition of joy; and accordingly that the relic shown in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries is undeserving of credit. We must protest, however, against so rash an hypothesis, which would involve the destruction of the sole monument of the immortal Jenny's heroic onslaught, seeing there can be no reasonable question that a dame so zealous and devout would reserve her best stool for the Sunday's services, and content herself with a common *creepie* for her week-day avocations at the Tron! There is no doubt, however, that Jenny gave unequivocal proofs of her loyalty at a later period, as she is specially mentioned in the *Mercurius Caledonius*, a newspaper published immediately after the Restoration, as having taken a prominent share in similiar rejoicings on the coronation of the King in 1661. "But among all our bontados and caprices," says the curious annalist, "that of the immortal Jenet Geddis, Princesse of the Trone Adventurers, was most pleasant, for she was not only content to assemble all her creels, basquets, creepies, frames, and other ingredients that composed the shope of her sallets, radishes, turnips, carrots, spinage, cabbage, with all other sort of pot merchandise that belongs to the garden, but even her leather chair of state, where she used to dispense justice to the rest of her langkale vassals, were all very orderly burned; she herself countenancing the action with a high-flown flourish and vermilion majesty."

The "Vicus Hackerstoni," or Halkerston's Wynd, the first close on the north side of the High Street, below the Tron Church, appears in Gordon's bird's-eye view of 1647, with a port at its lower end, flanked with two square towers, forming the intra-mural approach to Trinity College Church, and the gardens attached to the hospital of its royal foundress. The name of Halkerston's Wynd occurs in deeds as early as 1500, and associated as it is with that of John Halkerstone, master mason, or architect of the Collegiate Church of Queen Mary of Gueldres, it perpetuates, even in its modern degradation, some faint memorial of that beautiful though unfinished specimen of Scottish ecclesiastical architecture of the fifteenth century, demolished so recklessly within the memory of living men.[2] In the seventeenth century this wynd was the principal avenue of the city from the north,

[1] Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 16.

[2] *Regist. Domus de Soltre*, etc., p. xiv.

and long afterwards continued to be a place of considerable note. It was here that the Hon. Henry Erskine, the future Lord Advocate, took up his abode, when in 1772 he wedded Miss Christinia Fullerton. But nearly every vestige of antiquity has long disappeared from the old thoroughfare. One exception, however, which has already been figured on an earlier page,[1] is the curious ancient lintel over a doorway on the east side of the wynd, bearing on it the sacred monogram IHS, and a *cross-fleury*, with a coronet surmounting the letter D. The style and character of this device, and of the mouldings of the old doorway, indicate a date long anterior to the Reformation; but the building to which it belonged has been demolished, all but a portion of the outer wall, and we have failed to obtain any clue to its early history. It was in its latest stage a timber-fronted land, having a good deal of carving along the gables, and an ornamental stone staircase projecting beyond, indicating the remains of a mansion of some proud noble or ecclesiastical dignitary of the olden time. Adjoining this, another doorway, furnishing a similar vestige of a more recent building, bears the common inscription, BLISSIT . BE . GOD . FOR . AL . HIS . GIFTIS . and the initials and date . RD . D . 1609. Fountainhall[2] gives a curious account of an action brought by Robert Malloch in 1701 against the magistrates of Edinburgh, for shutting up the Halkerston's Wynd Port. From this it appears that a suburban village had sprung up on Moutrie's Hill, the site now occupied by St. James Square, in which a number of poor weavers and other tradesmen were pursuing their crafts beyond the royalty, and in open defiance of the incorporations of the *Gude Toun*. The deacons, finding their crafts in danger, took advantage of an approaching election to frighten the magistrates into a just sense of the enormity of tolerating such unconstitutional interlopers so near their ancient burgh. The port was accordingly shut up, and the sluices of the North Loch closed, so as to flood a small mound that had afforded a footpath to the port for the free-traders of this obnoxious village. The battle was stoutly maintained for a time, but the magistrates finding the law somewhat rigid in its investigation of their right over the city ports, and the election most probably being satisfactorily settled meanwhile, they opened the port of their own accord, and allowed the sluices of the North Loch again to run. In Kinloch's Close, immediately adjoining this wynd, stood, till recently, a substantial old stone land, with large and neatly moulded windows, and abounding with curious irregular projections, adapting it to its straitened site. Over the main entrance the Williamson arms were boldly cut in high relief, with the initials I · W · accompanied by the *cross of passion* springing from the centre of a *saltier*, and the inscription and date in large Roman letters, FEIR · GOD · IN · LUIF · 1595. The same device, possibly only a merchant's mark, was repeated above on the lowest crowstep.

[1] *Ante*, vol. ii. p. 30. [2] Fountainhall's *Decisions*, vol. ii. p. 110.

The timber-fronted land which faces the street at the head of this close is figured here, with the old picturesque gables breaking the sky-line, the removal of which has greatly marred its effect as a specimen of ancient street architecture. But it retains its peculiar claims to our interest as the scene of Allan Ramsay's earlier labours, where, "at the sign of the Mercury, opposite to Niddry's Wynd," he prosecuted his later business as author, editor, and bookseller. From thence he issued his poems printed in single sheets, or half sheets, as they were written. In this shape they are reported to have found a ready sale, the citizens being in the habit of sending their children with a penny for "Allan Ramsay's last piece."[1] Encouraged by the favourable reception of his poetic labours, he at length published proposals for a re-issue of his works in a collected form; and accordingly, in 1721, they appeared in one handsome quarto volume, with a portrait of the author from the pencil of his friend Smibert. Ramsay continued to carry on business at the sign of the Mercury till the year 1725, so that nearly all his original publications issued from this ancient fabric. In that year he removed to the famous land in the Luckenbooths associated with the names of Gay, Smollett, Burns, Lord Kames, Blair, Beattie, Henry Mackenzie, Adam Smith, Dugald Stewart, and other literary or bibliopolic celebrities while the old High Street was still the civic and intellectual centre of Edinburgh.

Allan Ramsay's Shop, High Street.

Immediately to the east of Ramsay's old haunt a narrow pend gives access to Carrubber's Close, the retreat of the faithful remnant of the Jacobites of 1688. Here, about half-way down the close on the east side,

[1] *Scottish Biographical Dictionary*, article "Ramsay."

is St. Paul's Chapel, a plain and unpretending structure erected immediately after the Revolution. Thither the persecuted bishop and his stanch non-jurant followers repaired on the downfall of the national establishment of Episcopacy; and there they continued to worship within its narrow bounds amid frequent interruptions, particularly after the rising of 1745, resolutely persisting for nearly a century in excluding the name of the "Hanoverian usurpers" from their devotions. The chapel is still occupied by a congregation of Scottish Episcopalians, but the homely worshippers of modern times form a striking contrast to the stately squires and dames who once were wont to frequent the unpretending fane that sufficed to accommodate the whole disestablished Episcopacy of the capital.

Immediately below the chapel a huge escalop shell, expanding over the porch of the main entrance to an old tenement, marks the clam-shell land. Here was the house of Ainslie's master, during Burns's visit to Edinburgh, at whose table he was a frequent guest; and also of the elder Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo, another of the poet's early friends, until he removed to one of the first erections in the new town. The whole locality, indeed, is in some degree associated with the poet's friends and favourite haunts; for on the second floor of the ancient stone land which faces the High Street, at the head of the close, was the abode of Captain Mathew Henderson, "a gentleman who held the patent for his honours immediately from Almighty God," on whom the poet wrote the exquisite elegy preserved among his works, to the very characteristic motto from Hamlet, "Should the poor be flattered?"

This old close was the scene of the only unsuccessful speculation of another poet, whose prudent self-control enabled him through life to avoid the sorrows that so often beset the minstrel's path, and to find in the muse the handmaid of wealth. It had already furnished accommodation for dramatic exhibitions, and such feats of agility as pertain to the modern circus. Signora Violante and a company of Italian mountebanks performed there about 1720. At a later date she returned with a regular company of English comedians, and met with such success that a strolling company of players made it their resort for some years thereafter. Allan Ramsay wrote the prologue to their first night's performance in 1726; and encouraged by the popular favour extended to such crude dramatic efforts, the poet at length undertook the erection of a playhouse, still standing at the foot of Carrubber's Close, which involved him in heavy loss. It was closed by the act for licensing the stage, which was passed in the year 1737, and the poet solaced himself by writing a rhyming complaint to the Court of Session, which appeared soon after in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. The abortive playhouse has since served many singular purposes. It bore in later days the name of St. Andrew's Chapel, bestowed on it soon after the failure of the poet's dramatic speculation. In 1773 it formed the arena for

the debates of the Pantheon, a famous speculative club. In 1788 Dr. Moyes, the ingenious lecturer on natural philosophy, discoursed there to fashionable audiences on optics, the property of light, and other branches of science, most foreign to a lecturer whose main popular attraction was that he had been blind almost from his birth. The pulpit of St. Andrew's Chapel was subsequently filled by Mr. John Barclay, the founder of the sect of Bereans; by the Reverend Mr. Tait, the ejected minister of Trinity College Church, and by other founders of the "Rowites," during whose occupancy the celebrated Edward Irving frequently officiated. The chapel has also been used by Relief and Secession congregations, by the Roman Catholics as a preaching station and schoolroom, and more recently for lectures and debates of all kinds. It had latterly degenerated into the hall of a Jacobin club, where public discussions on the most sacred subjects were carried on with unrestrained license, when it was acquired by Mr. James Gall in 1858, and converted into the headquarters of a singularly interesting mission work among the long-neglected city "Bohemians and Arabs." The history of this good work has been told by its originator in his *Stories of the Carrubber's Close Mission.* But civic improvers have followed in the wake of this genuine work of reformation. The last of as strange a medley of actors as the fertile fancy of the poet could have foreshadowed have played their parts, and made their exit; and the abortive playhouse of Allan Ramsay, with all its later diversified associations, has been swept away under Provost Chambers's Improvement Act. The date of its demolition is 1872, so that it witnessed the changing manners and fortunes of a century and a half.

Among the more recent associations of this old close, not the least interesting are some that pleasantly connect themselves with a personal friend of the writer. Here, on the west side and near the foot of the close, the revived art of glass-painting was successfully prosecuted by the late James Ballantine, author of the "Gaberlunzie's Wallet," and the "Miller of Deanhaugh," as well as of "Castles in the Air," "Ilka blade o' grass keps its ane drap o' dew," and others among the tenderest and the most lively of modern Scottish songs: never heard with such effect as when sung by himself. There, where many of his early literary productions were matured, he completed under numerous disadvantages the successful designs for the competition of 1844, which gained for him the honour of executing the painted windows of the new House of Lords. The close had suffered little from modern alteration till the last raid of civic reformers. It is wide and airy for an old town close, and still presents a pleasing specimen of the quaint and picturesque irregularity of style which gladdens the eye of the artist, and sets the reforming citizen ruminating on the possibility of a new Improvements Commission, that shall sweep away the last remnant of such obsolete relics from every lane and alley of the ancient capital.

Bishop's Close, which adjoins this on the east, preserves in its name a memorial of "the Bishop's Land," one of the most substantial and noted among the private buildings in the High Street of Edinburgh. It owed this old designation to its having been the residence of the eminent prelate, John Spottiswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews, who, as appears from the titles, inherited it from his father, the Superintendent of Lothian. This fact is of some value, as serving to discredit the statement of his unrequited labours during the latter years of his life. The date on the old building was 1578, at which time the Superintendent would be in his sixty-ninth year; and the house was sufficiently commodious and magnificent to serve afterwards for the town mansion of the Scottish primate. On the ground floor of the building was a deeply arched piazza, supported by massive stone piers, and over the main entrance a carved lintel bore the common inscription, BLISSIT . BE . YE . LORD . FOR . ALL . HIS . GIFTIS . 1578, with a shield impaled with two coats of arms, and the initials V. N., H. M. Three large windows, surmounted with sculptured pediments, opened on a fine brass-railed balcony projecting from the first floor, which had doubtless often been decorated with gay hangings, and crowded with fair and noble spectators to see the riding of the Parliaments and other state pageants of early times. This interesting building was totally destroyed by fire in 1814, but the carved lintel has been preserved, and is now built into the adjoining pend of North Gray's Close. From the evidence in the famous Douglas cause it appears that Lady Jane Douglas resided in Bishop's Land soon after her arrival in Scotland, and was visited there by Lord Prestongrange, then Lord Advocate, in 1752.[1] Here also is stated to have been the abode of the first Lord President Dundas, and the birthplace of the celebrated Viscount Melville;[2] and so aristocratic were the denizens of this once fashionable tenement, nearly to the close of the century, that we have been told by an old citizen there was not a family resident in any of its flats who did not keep livery servants: a strange contrast to their plebeian successors. In the title-deeds of Archbishop Spottiswood's mansion, it is described as bounded on the east by the tenement sometime pertaining to James Henderson of Fordel. This was no doubt the house referred to in the *Diurnal of Occurrents*, where it is said that Queen Mary, after the bootless muster at Carberry Hill, "quhen she come to Edinburgh, wes lugeit in James Hendersones hous of Fordell";[3] and although this is an obvious mistake for that of the Lord Provost Sir Simon Preston, she had probably lodged there on some earlier and happier occasion, when it was no unwonted circumstance for Her Majesty to become the guest of the wealthier citizens of her capital. Eminent names of later times are associated with the same locality. In 1744 Henry David, tenth

[1] *Case of Respondents*, fol. p. 34. [2] Chambers's *Traditions*, vol. i. Appendix.
[3] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 115.

Earl of Buchan, and his Countess, Agnes Stewart, daughter of Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees, Lord Advocate in the reign of Queen Anne, took up their residence in the house at the head of Gray's Close, fronting the High Street. There their second son, Henry Erskine, the future Lord Advocate, was born in 1746; and three years later his more celebrated brother, Thomas, the future Lord Chancellor of England. The curious Gothic corbel shown here, carved in the form of a grotesque head, with leaves in its mouth, which was found about six feet below the surface on the east side of North Gray's Close in excavating for a tan pit, affords a glimpse of the character of some of the vanished structures of older times. In the course of digging the workmen came upon a large fragment of wall, of very substantial masonry, running from east to west, below the foundations of the neighbouring houses. We have examined a large collection of title-deeds of the surrounding property in the hope of discovering the existence of some religious house here in early times; but the oldest, which is dated 1572, describes nearly the whole close as then in a waste and ruinous state. Such discoveries, however, furnish evidence of the great changes which have taken place in Edinburgh in common with most other ancient cities. This portion of the town had evidently been destroyed in the conflagration effected by the Earl of Hertford's army in 1544; and while the houses in the main street were speedily rebuilt, the ground to the north lay for nearly thirty years an unoccupied waste, so that when the citizens at length began to build upon it, they founded their new dwellings above the consolidated ruins of the older capital. The carved stone was for some time preserved in the nursery of Messrs. Eagle and Henderson (now Methven's), Leith Walk.

Gothic Corbel, North Gray's Close.

A fine old stone land at the head of Bailie Fife's Close on the west side bears, on a large lintel over one of the upper windows, the Trotter arms in bold relief—two stars in chief, and a crescent in base,—with the initials I. T., I. M., and the date 1612. The initials are those of John Trotter, a wealthy burgess, and his wife Janet M'Math. But their dwelling occupies the site of an older structure interesting as the abode of one of our early Scottish typographers, Thomas Davidson, whose rare black-letter edition of Bellenden's *Boece*, printed in 1536, "at the command of the Richt Hie, Richt Excellent and noble Prince, James the V of that name, King of Scottis," bears to be "imprintit in Edinburgh be Thomas Davidson, dwellying forenens the Frere Wynd." A large shield occupies a panel above the ground floor of the present building, with the initials I · P : M · H, and the Parley arms—a

chevron between three mullets,—impaling those of Hay. Over a finely moulded doorway below is the inscription in Roman characters, now greatly defaced: BE · PASIENT · IN · THE · LORD ; and on a panel over a window in the rear: THE · LORD · KNOWETH · WHO · ARE · HIS. In Chalmers' Close an ancient building has a claim to special interest from its diversified examples of the curious sculptured stone niches, already repeatedly referred to in the course of this work. The house stands within the close, on the west side. On the first floor a small niche appears, at the right side of the doorway immediately on entering, and in the opposite wall there is another of large size and highly ornamental character, through which a window has been broken, looking into Barringer's Close. Alongside of the latter niche a narrow turnpike stair formerly afforded access to the floor above, and the general construction of the apartment renders it probable that it was a *Maison Dieu* with its private chapel, before the Reformation. It is now subdivided by flimsy modern partitions, and furnishes a residence for several families. Here resided a worthy burgess of last century, the grandfather of one of the most eminent of Edinburgh's modern citizens, Francis Lord Jeffrey, with whom this old close was a favourite haunt in his boyhood. It was, we may presume, a mere random shot of the reckless satirist, when Byron, in his "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers" ironically congratulating Jeffrey on his escape from Moore's leadless pistol at Chalk Farm in 1806, thus proceeded—

> "The Tolbooth felt—for marble sometimes can,
> On such occasions, feel as much as man,—
> The Tolbooth felt defrauded of its charms,
> If Jeffrey died, except within her arms.
> Nay last, not least, on that portentous morn,
> The sixteenth story, where himself was born,
> His patrimonial garret, fell to ground,
> And pale Edina shuddered at the sound:
> Strewed were the streets around with milk-white reams,
> Flowed all the Canongate with inky streams;
> This of his candour seemed the sable dew,
> That of his valour showed the bloodless hue;
> And all with justice deemed the two combined
> The mingled emblems of his mighty mind."

A projecting doorway of the adjoining tenement has on its lintel, in large old English characters, the name of **Johne Hope,** with a defaced coat of arms between. On the lowest crow-step is another shield with armorial bearings, and the initials I · H · The dilapidated building retains considerable traces of former magnificence, as well as undoubted evidence of its early date. The large windows have been each divided with a mullion and transom, and are finished with unusually rich mouldings at the sides. The hall on the first floor, which has been an apartment of considerable size, is

now subdivided into separate dwellings by slight wooden partitions. There can be little doubt, from the style of lettering in the inscription, and the general character of the building, that this is the mansion of John de Hope, the founder of the Hopetoun family, who came from France in 1537 in the retinue of the Princess Magdalen, Queen of James V; and who afterwards settled as a substantial burgher in the Luckenbooths, visiting the Continent from time to time, and importing French velvets, silks, gold and silver laces, and the like valuable foreign merchandise.[1] It seems to be unquestionable that no other John Hope was in Scotland till the reign of Charles I: a date long posterior to that of the building. This was his descendant, Sir John Hope of Craighall, the eldest son of the celebrated Lord Advocate, who was Lord President of the Court of Session during the Protectorate, and to whom Charles II owed the shrewd though unpalatable advice, "to treat with Cromwell for the one halff of his cloake before he lost the quhole."

In the next alley, termed Sandilands' Close, a large and remarkably substantial stone tenement forms the chief feature on the east side, and attracts the attention of the curious visitor by many indications of great antiquity. The ground floor of this building is vaulted with stone, and entered by doorways with pointed arches; and over the lower of these is a neat small pointed window, or loophole, splayed and otherwise constructed as in early Gothic buildings. The accompanying woodcut shows the character of one of the internal decorations of this old edifice. It is a piece of sculpture executed with some degree of spirit and artistic skill, apparently representing the offering of the Magi to the infant Saviour. The figures stand out in bold relief, although, like most other internal decorations in the old town, plentifully besmeared with whitewash. It appears to form the end of a large antique fireplace, the remainder of which is concealed under panelling and partitions of perhaps a century old, while another, of the contracted dimensions usual in later times, has been constructed in the farther corner. Probably much more of this interesting sculpture remains to be disclosed on the removal of these additions of recent date. Such of the title-deeds of this property as we have obtained access to are unfortunately modern, and contain no reference to early proprietors; but one of the present owners described a sculptured stone, containing a coat of arms surmounted by a mitre, that was removed from over the inner doorway some years since, and which appears to have been the Kennedy arms. If it be permissible to build on such slender data, in the absence of all other evidence, we have here, probably, the town mansion of the good Bishop Kennedy, the munificent patron of learning, and the able and upright councillor of James II and III. The whole appearance of the building is

[1] *Coltness Collections*, Mait. Club, pp. 16, 17, from which it appears that John de Hope and his son Edward occupied the two booths east of the Old Church stile in the Luckenbooths.

THE NETHERBOW PORT

FROM THE EAST. TAKEN DOWN 1764.

consistent with this supposition. The form and decorations of the doorways, particularly those already described, all prove an early date; while the large size and elegant mouldings of the windows, and the massive character of the whole building, indicate such magnificence as would well consort with the dignity and royal blood of the first ecclesiastic who acquired great political influence in Scotland, and who exercised it with such rare virtue and moderation.

Ancient Sculpture—Offering of the Wise Men—Sandilands' Close.

A very fine specimen of the ancient timber-fronted lands of the old town stood till within the last few years at the head of Trunk's Close, behind the Fountain Well, on the site of a plain stone tenement that has since replaced it. The back portion of the old building, however, still remains entire, including several rooms with fine stuccoed ceilings, and one large hall beautifully finished with richly carved pilasters and oak panelling, which is described in the title-deeds as "presently" — *i.e.* in 1739—"a meeting-house possest by Mr. William Cocburn, minister of the gospel." It had previously formed the residence of Sir John Scot of Ancrum, the first of that title, who was created a baronet by Charles II in 1671. From him it was acquired by Sir Gilbert Elliot, of Stobs, in 1703, and here resided that baronet, and his more illustrious son, General Elliot, the gallant defender of Gibraltar, better known by his title of Lord Heathfield. On the pediment over the window of another fine old stone land on the west side of Trunk's Close is the inscription in bold characters: HODIE · MIHI · CRAS · TIBI; an inscription appropriately carved in similar characters over the splendid tomb of Thomas Bannatyne, in the Greyfriars' churchyard. Several other ancient tenements in this close are worthy of inspection for their antique irregularity of construction.

But the chief *Lion* among the venerable fabrics of the old town is the singularly picturesque building terminating the High Street towards the east, which has been assigned by long-accepted tradition as the mansion provided at the expense of the town for the lodging of its first parish minister, the great reformer, John Knox. Dr. M'Crie states in his *Life of Knox* that, after his last return to Scotland, he was, for a time, "indebted to the liberality

of individuals for the support of his family. After that period he lodged in the house of David Forest, a burgess of Edinburgh, from which he removed to the lodging which had belonged to Durie, Abbot of Dunfermline." This statement is borne out by the Burgh Records of 24th February 1561. It was not indeed George Durie, Abbot and Arch-Dean, but John Durie, tailor, who then made way for the reformer; for times had greatly changed. But, as the old record narrates, "the bailies and counsail, having consideratioun that, for the eis of John Knox, minister, John Durie, talyeour, removit him furth of the ludgeing occupyet by the Abbot of Drumfermeling, to the effect the said minister mycht enter theirto," instructions are given to the treasurer to pay to John Durie eight merks of rent. This house, which stood on the east side of Trunk's Close, in the Nether Bow, was secured for the permanent occupation of the minister of St. Giles's, and the rent paid by the City Treasurer from Martinmas 1560 to March 1569 to its "heritable fear," Robert Moubray, and, towards the close, to John Adamson, his successor. This then appears to have been the actual lodging finally provided for Knox, and occupied through the memorable years that followed. The Dean of Guild, as the Burgh Records testify, was required "with all diligence to mak ane warme studye of daillis to the minister, Johne Knox, within his lugeing, abone the hall of the samyn, with lychtis and wyndokis thairto, and all vther necessaris." In the manse thus carefully provided for him he entered on his new duties, eager to turn to account the brighter future that seemed opening out before him. But he had not long enjoyed its shelter when he had to mourn the loss of the brave and faithful wife who had shared with him his earlier privations and sufferings. To the same house he brought his second wife, Margaret Stewart, the daughter of the good Lord Ochiltree; and there he hospitably entertained his friends; while in his well-appointed study he busied himself remodelling the first Book of Discipline, and corresponding with the leading statesmen and divines of that memorable era. Ere his eventful life drew to a close he had to abandon his Edinburgh manse, while Queen's men and King's men made the High Street of the old town their battlefield; and the gallant Kirkaldy of Grange held out the Castle as the last stronghold of the adherents of Mary Stuart. But he returned to Edinburgh; and, in the absence of other evidence, we may welcome such guidance as tradition supplies, and still think of the house that has so long borne his name as the lodging where his last days were spent. He expired there in the sixty-seventh year of his age, "not so much oppressed with years, as worn out and exhausted by his extraordinary labour of body and anxiety of mind."

It was a period of uncertainty and strife; and the remains of the great leader of the Scottish Reformation were borne to the cemetery of St. Giles amid such civic and national troubles that no memorial was left to note to later

generations the spot where they laid him to rest, "who never feared the face of man."

As to this fine old house at the Nether Bow which a long-accepted tradition associates with the name of Knox, the elaborate religious allegory combined in the inscriptions and sculptures forms no inappropriate adornment either for the reputed lodging of a mitred abbot or for the manse of the dauntless Scottish reformer. The Hebrew lawgiver is represented as kneeling on the Mount, and reaching forth his hand to receive the tablets of the law. The Divine Being, under the figure of the Sun of Righteousness, is represented veiled in clouds on the farther side; while its rays extend obliquely towards Moses, who kneels in suppliant attitude below. The disc of the emblematic luminary is inscribed in Greek, Latin, and English: ΘΕΟΣ · DEVS · GOD; and beneath, on an entablature extending along the entire front of the building, is carved in large Roman characters the epitome of the Ten Commandments: LVFE · GOD · ABVFE · AL · AND · YI · NYCTBOVR · AS · YI · SELF. The unity of the entire design is thus apparent. The sculpture and inscriptions are complementary features in a combined presentation of the idea of the giving forth of the law on Mount Sinai, when "The Lord called unto Moses out of the midst of the cloud; and the sight of the glory of the Lord was like devouring fire on the top of the Mount in the eyes of the children of Israel."

The first occupant of the picturesque fabric thus ingeniously decorated with sacred allegory was a man of sufficient note to give it a prominent place among the historic buildings of the Scottish capital, independent of any later associations. When in 1849 a mandate was issued by the Dean of Guild for its demolition, the successful efforts for its preservation involved the removal of the dilapidated wooden excrescences added by later occupants; and disclosed a fine sculptured tablet bearing within an encircling wreath a shield charged with three crowns on a chevron, between three oak-trees, with the initials I · M and M · A on either side. There accordingly is the memorial of the builder of the old fabric, and the clue to its early history. Guided by evidence derived from Stoddart's *Scottish Arms* and the Register of the Great Seal, its erection may be definitely assigned to James Mosman, burgess and goldsmith: a citizen of wealth and influence who played a notable part in the eventful times of John Knox and Mary Stuart. This is confirmed by the accordance of the initials M · A on the left of the shield with those of his wife, Mariot Arres, daughter and heiress of John Arres, through whom the property at the Nether Bow, along with other valuable burghal estate, came into her husband's possession. An older house on the site appears, from a sasine of 1525, to have been acquired by John Arres, through his wife, Christina Reidpath; but the building of that date perished in the sack and burning of the town by the Earl of Hertford in

1544, and was replaced by his son-in-law with the one that still occupies its site. He also acquired landed estate, aspired to social rank, as shown by his assumption of coat armour, and took an active part in the eventful struggles of the times. But it was his fate to espouse a hopeless cause, in open antagonism to the aims of Knox and the champions of the Reformation; for he was an adherent of the old faith and a devoted partisan of the dethroned Queen.

From the Register of the Great Seal it appears that, in 1570, Edward Hume, burgess of Edinburgh, sold to James Mosman and Mariot Arres his wife, the lands of Laughermandstone, in the Barony of Currie. He was the son and heir of John Mosman, *aurifaber*, like George Heriot, the royal goldsmith of a later reign. By an Act of the first Parliament of James I. in 1424, mines of gold or silver "founden in onie Lordis landes of the realm" are made the property of the King; and the royal mines received repeated attention in subsequent reigns. It was under the direction of the elder Mosman that they were wrought, in the reign of James V, by miners brought from Germany and Lorraine. He was also the skilled artificer who fabricated the closed arches that still adorn the Scottish Crown; and by whom the crown of the Queen Consort, Mary of Guise, was made. To this may no doubt be traced the three crowns on the chevron of the younger Mosman's arms. Trained under his father's care as a skilled worker in gold, we may ascribe to his artistic culture the elaborate decorations of his dwelling, with all their display of ingenious allegory and devout symbolism. But the loyal old goldsmith had allied himself to a hopeless cause. When the adherents of the Queen's party took refuge in the Castle, and Sir William Drury and the English besiegers opened their batteries on the ancient stronghold, James Mosman shared the fortunes of its chivalrous commander. On its reduction by the besiegers he was delivered up by the English general, along with Sir William Kirkaldy and his brother, to the Regent Morton, by whom they were summarily dealt with as traitors. They were ignominiously "harlit in cartis backwart" to the Cross, and there hanged, quartered, and their heads exposed upon the Castle wall. A son survived to inherit whatever might be saved from the wreck of the old Queen's man's estate. But the property in the Nether Bow was forfeited to the Crown; and the Register shows that it was immediately thereafter granted by James VI to John Carmichael yr. of that Ilk, along with other burghal property in Edinburgh.

A range of very picturesque buildings once formed the continuous row from "Knox's corner" to the site of the ancient Nether Bow Port, but that busy destroyer, Time, seems occasionally to wax impatient of his own ordinary slow operations, and to demolish with a swifter hand what he has

been thought inclined to spare. One of them, a curious specimen of the ancient timber-fronted lands, and with successive tiers of windows divided only by narrow pilasters, has recently been curtailed by a story in height and robbed of its most characteristic features, to preserve for a little longer what remains; while the house immediately to the east of Knox's, which tradition pointed out as the mansion of the noble family of Balmerinoch, has now disappeared, having literally tumbled to the ground. Immediately behind the site of this, on the west side of Society Close, an ancient stone land of singular construction bears over its main entrance the ampler version of a favourite inscription repeated elsewhere: R · H · HODIE · MIHI · CRAS · TIBI · CVR · IGITVR · CVRAS. There appears to have also been a date, but it is now illegible. The doorway gives access to a curious hanging turnpike stair, supported on corbels formed by the projection of the stone steps on the first floor. This is the tenement of Aleson Bassendyne, the daughter of Thomas Bassendyne, the celebrated printer. The alley bears the name of Bassendyne's Close in the earliest titles; more recently it is styled Panmure Close, from the residence there of John Maule of Inverkeilory, appointed a Baron of the Court of Exchequer in 1748,—a grandson of the fourth Earl of Panmure, attainted in 1715 for his adherence to the Stuarts. The large stone mansion which he occupied at the foot of the close was afterwards acquired by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, founded in 1701 and erected into a body-corporate by Queen Anne. The chief apartment was used as the Society's hall, and so gave its present name to the close.

The old timber land to the east is said to have been the Excise Office in early times, in proof of which the royal arms are pointed out over the first floor. The situation was peculiarly convenient for guarding the principal gate of the city and the direct avenue to the neighbouring seaport. It is a stately erection of considerable antiquity, and we doubt not has lodged much more important official occupants than Hanoverian excisemen. It has an outside stair leading to a stone turnpike on the first floor, and over the doorway of the latter is the motto DEVS · BENEDICTAT. Since George II's reign the Excise Office has run through its course with as rapid vicissitudes as might suffice to mark the career of a profligate spendthrift. In its earlier days, when a floor of the old land in the Nether Bow sufficed for its accommodation, it was regarded as foremost among the detested fruits of the Union. From thence it removed to more commodious chambers in the Cowgate, since demolished to make way for the southern piers of George IV Bridge. Its next resting-place was the large tenement on the south side of Chessels' Court in the Canongate, the scene of the notorious Deacon Brodie's last robbery. It was next transferred to Sir Lawrence Dundas's splendid mansion in St. Andrew Square, now occupied by the Royal

Bank. This may be considered its culminating point. It descended thereafter to Bellevue House in Drummond Place, built by General Scott, the father-in-law of Canning, which was demolished in 1846 in completing the tunnel of the Edinburgh and Leith Railway; and now, we believe, the exciseman no longer possesses a "local habitation" within the Scottish capital.

On the southern side of the High Street below "the Tron," some few remains of antiquity have escaped the ruthless hand of destruction, though the general character of the buildings partakes largely of modern tameness and insipidity. Previous to the commencement of the South Bridge in 1785, the east end of the Tron Church, which has since been considerably curtailed, abutted on a stately range of buildings of polished ashlar, with an arched piazza supported on stone pillars extending along nearly the whole front. A large archway in this building, immediately adjoining the church, formed the entrance to Marlin's Wynd, in front of which a row of six stones, forming the shape of a coffin, indicated the grave of Walter Merlioun, who, having been the first to pave the High Street, in the sixteenth century, seems to have considered that useful work his best monument; though he was the master-mason by whom the vaulted gateway of Holyrood Abbey was erected in 1502. The same destructive operations swept away the whole of Niddry's Wynd, an ancient alley abounding with interesting fabrics of an early date, and associated with some of the most eminent citizens of former times. Here was the civic palace of Nicol Edward, Provost of Edinburgh in 1591, a large quadrangular building of uniform architectural design and elegant proportions, in which King James VI and his Queen took up their residence for a time in that year.[1] This building appears, from the description of it, to have been one of the most magnificent private edifices of the old town.[2] In the same wynd, a little farther down on the opposite side, stood St. Mary's Chapel, founded and endowed in 1504 by Elizabeth, Countess of Ross, the widow of John, Lord of the Isles, who was outlawed and forfeited by James III for treasonable correspondence with Edward IV of England. She was the eldest daughter of James, Lord Livingston, Great Chamberlain of Scotland, and appears to have held considerable property by special charters in her own behalf. A modern edifice, which had replaced the ancient chapel before the demolition of Niddry's Wynd, formed the hall of the corporation of Wrights and Masons. It was acquired by them in 1618, since which they have borne the name of the *United Incorporations of Mary's Chapel.*

On entering Dickson's Close, a little farther down the street, the first house the visitor comes to on the left hand is a substantial stone edifice,

[1] *Ante*, vol. i. p. 229.

[2] For a detailed account of this very interesting old building, vide *Minor Antiquities*, p. 207.

evidently the work of Robert Mylne, and built about the period of the Revolution. Of its first occupants we can give no account, but one of its more recent inhabitants confers on it a peculiar interest. Here was the residence of David Allan, "our Scottish Hogarth," as he was called, an artist of undoubted genius, whose fair fame has suffered by the insipidity which incompetent engravers have infused into his illustrations to Ramsay and Burns. The satiric humour and drollery of his well-known "rebuke scene" in a country church, and the lively expression and spirit of the "General Assembly" and others of his own etchings, amply justify the character assigned to him by his contemporaries. He succeeded Runciman as master of the Academy established by the Board of Trustees, the classes of which then met in the College, while he received private pupils at his house in Dickson's Close.[1] A little lower down the close on the same side an old stone tenement bears on its lower crow-step the Haliburton arms, impaled with another coat, on one shield. It is a singularly unique and time-worn edifice, with a curious double window projecting on a corbelled base into the close. The earliest deed which exists, bearing the date 1582, refers to its first proprietor, Master James Halyburton,—a title then of some meaning,—as *umq^te* or deceased; so that it is a building probably of the early part of the sixteenth century. It afterwards was the residence of Sir John Haliday of Tillybole. The most interesting fact, however, brought out by those early titles occurs in defining the boundaries of the property. It is described as having "the trans of the prebendaries of the kirk of Crightoun on the east pairt and oyr partes"; and, as appears from the old charters, the tenement to the north of it and fronting the street had been the lodging of the Provost of Crichton; while the town mansion of the Abbots of Melrose stands directly opposite to it, with an entrance from Strichen's Close. It thus appears that a considerable part of Cant's Close and the adjoining area had been occupied by ecclesiastical buildings chiefly in connection with the church of Crichton, erected into a collegiate foundation in 1449 by Sir Wm. Crichton, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland.[2] The mansion of the Abbots of Melrose is a large and substantial stone building, enclosing a square or court in the centre, the original access to which seems to have disappeared. The whole building has evidently undergone great alterations; and over one of the doorways a carved stone bears a large and very boldly cut shield, with two coats of arms impaled, and the date 1600. There seems no reason to doubt, however, that the main portion of the Abbot's residence still remains. The lower story is strongly vaulted, and is

[1] *Caledonian Mercury*, 15th November 1788.—His terms were one guinea per month for three lessons in the week, a fee that undoubtedly restricted his private classes at that period to the most wealthy and fashionable students of art. The date of the advertisement is the year of his marriage.

[2] *Traditions*, vol. i. p. 92.

evidently the work of an early date. The small quadrangle also is quite in character with the period assumed for the building. A greatly defaced carving on the lintel of the doorway appears to have been a representation of the Virgin and child; and as such accords with the device repeated on the capitular seals of the Abbey. At the north-west angle of the Abbot's lodging, where the gable is surmounted by a curiously carved finial combining the rose and fleur-de-lis, a grotesque gargoyle of antique form serves as a gutter to the roof. Here, therefore, we may assign with little hesitation the residence of Andrew Durie, nominated by James V to the Abbey of Melrose in the year 1526; and whose death, Knox assures us, was occasioned by the terror into which he was put on the memorable uproar on St. Giles's day, 1558. The close, which is called the Abbot of Melrose's in its earlier titles, assumes the name of Rosehaugh Close at a later period, from the Abbot's lodging having become the residence of the celebrated Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, king's advocate for Scotland after the Restoration. During a great part of last century it was occupied by Alexander Fraser of Strichen, who was connected by marriage with the descendants of Sir George Mackenzie, and who sat for nearly half a century on the bench under the title of Lord Strichen, from which it derives its present name.

Capitular Seal of Melrose Abbey.

The front tenement, which extends between Strichen's Close and Blackfriars' Wynd, is a plain modern land, re-erected after the destruction of its predecessor in one of the alarming fires of the memorable year 1824, and constructed with a view to the humbler requisities of its modern tenants; but the old building that occupied its site was a handsome stone fabric of lofty proportions, and within the present century the residence of people of rank. The most interesting among its later occupants was Lady Lovat, the relict of the celebrated Simon, Lord Lovat, who was beheaded on Tower Hill

in 1747. "Lady Charlotte Campbell told me," writes Mr. C. K. Sharpe, "that her mother, the Duchess of Argyle, took her along with her to visit Lady Lovat. She was a little, mean-looking woman, and had a tumbler on the table, into which she dipped her fingers repeatedly and then put them into her mouth, in a way that made Lady Charlotte sick. But though her manners were repulsive, the Jacobite ladies looked on her as a martyred saint, and tolerated her in every extravagance. She was thus a noted Edinburgh character in her day; and the old building, in the occupancy of which she shared, was generally known as *Lady Lovat's Land*." It possesses, however, more valuable associations than this, for its ancient title-deeds name as the original proprietor Walter Chepman, the Scottish Caxton, who introduced the printing-press into Scotland in the year 1507, under the munificent auspices of James IV. To the press of Walter Chepman the admirers of our early national literature still turn, not without hope that additions may yet be made, by further discovery of its invaluable fragments, to the writings of those great men who adorned the Augustan age of Scotland. The building, however, which perished in the conflagration of 1824 did not appear to be of an earlier date than the period of the Revolution; soon after which many of the substantial stone tenements of the old town were erected. The more ancient edifice seems to have been one of the picturesque timber-fronted erections of the reign of James IV, and formed the subject of special privileges granted by that monarch to his valued servitor. In the Registers of the Privy Seal (iv. 173) there is preserved the following royal license, dated at Edinburgh, 5th February 1510: "A licence maid to Walter Chepman, burges of Edinburgh, to haif staris towart the Hie Strete and calsay, with bak staris and turngres in the Frer Wynd, or on the forgait, of sic breid and lenth as he sall think expedient for entre and asiamentis to his land and tenement; and to flit the pend of the said Frer Wynd, for making of neidful asiamentis in thes ammyn; and als to big and haif ane wolt vnder the calsay, befor the for front of the said tenement, of sic breid as he thinkis expedient; with ane penteis vnder the greissis of his for star," etc. The whole grant is a curious sample of the arbitrary manner in which private interests and the general convenience of the citizens were sacrificed to the wishes of the royal favourite. The printing-house of Chepman and Millar was in the *south gait*, or Cowgate[1] of Edinburgh, as appears from the imprint on the rare edition of *The Knightly Tale of Golagros and Gawane* and others of the earliest issues from their press in the year 1508; and it no doubt was the same tenement with which, in 1528, Chepman endowed

[1] The names of streets so common in Scotland, formed with the adjunct *gate*, rarely if ever refer to a gate or port, according to the modern acceptation of the word; but to *gait* or street, as the *King's hie gait*, or, as here, the *south gait*, meaning the south street. The Water Gate, which is the only instance of the ancient use of the word in Edinburgh, is invariably written *yett* in early notices of it.

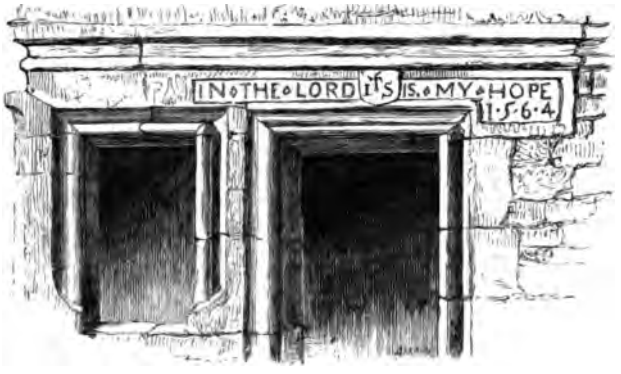
an altar in the chapel of the Holy Rood, in the lower churchyard of St. Giles. We may infer, however, from the nature of the royal grant, that the ancient building at the Nether Bow was the residence of Walter Chepman, who was a citizen of wealth and importance, occupying a high office in the royal household. In his titles he is styled *Walter Chepman de Everland*, and the carved boss in the groined ceiling of the aisle erected by him in St. Giles's Church bears his arms, impaled with those of his wife.

A broad archway, which leads through the modern successor of the old typographer's *fore tenement*, gives entrance to Blackfriars' Wynd, the largest, and undoubtedly the most important, of all the ancient wynds of Edinburgh. Before its final erasure from the historic thoroughfares of Old Edinburgh, we put on record some of its most curious characteristics. The engraved view of it as it stood in 1837 suffices to show the old avenue which was lighted up with the torches of Queen Mary's attendants as she wended her way homeward from her last interview with Darnley at the Kirk of Field, on the fatal 9th of February 1567. It derives its name from having formed the approach to the monastery of the Dominicans, or Black Friars, founded by Alexander II in 1230, which stood on the site of the old High School. This royal foundation formed for a time the residence of its founder, and received from him, among other endowments, a gift of the whole ground now occupied by the wynd, to erect houses thereon. For fully five centuries the ancient alley formed one of the most aristocratic districts of the Scottish capital; and it continued even after the Reformation to be the chosen place of residence of some of the chief Scottish ecclesiastics. It retained till a few years since much of the fine antique picturesqueness that anciently characterised it, and is represented here as it still appeared in 1837; but since then a rapid demolition of its decaying tenements has taken place; and at length Provost Chambers's Improvement Act has sealed the doom of the ancient Preaching Friars' Vennel.

We have already noticed, in the introductory sketch, several of the most memorable incidents of which this alley has been the scene. There some of the keenest struggles took place during the famous contest known as "Cleanse the Causeway"; down its straitened thoroughfare the victorious adherents of the Earl of Angus rushed to assault the palace of the Archbishop of Glasgow at the foot of the wynd, and from thence to wreak their vengeance on his person in the neighbouring church of the Black Friars, whither he fled for shelter. In the reign of James VI, in 1588, it was the arena of a similar contest between the retainers of the Earl of Bothwell and Sir William Stewart, when the latter was slain there by the sword of his rival. The next remarkable incident that occurred was in 1668, when James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, was seated in his coach at the head of Blackfriars' Wynd, waiting for the Bishop of Orkney, whose residence would

appear from this to have been in the wynd. Just as the Bishop was approaching, Mitchell, the fanatic assassin already described,[1] and an intimate acquaintance of the no less notorious Major Weir,[2] aimed a pistol at the Primate, the contents of which missed him, but dangerously wounded the Bishop of Orkney, who at the moment was stepping into the coach. In later and more peaceful times the old alley has quietly progressed in its declining fortunes to desertion and ruin.

On the west side, near the head of the wynd, a decorated lintel bore the inscription and device represented in the accompanying woodcut, with the date 1564. The ground floor of this building consisted of one very large apartment, with a massive stone pillar in the centre, which formed the place



Ancient Doorway, Blackfriars' Wynd.

of worship to which the adherents of the covenanted kirk retreated on the settlement of ecclesiastical affairs at the Revolution; and it is described, in an advertisement of the year 1798, as "the Auld Cameronian Meeting-house." Tradition pointed out the upper flat of the same tenement as having been the lodging of "Nicol Muschett, of ill memorie," while a student at college, though it appears, from the evidence on his trial, that his final residence was in Dickson's Close. This ancient tenement was latterly regarded with interest, as bearing the oldest date on any private building in Edinburgh, excepting that already described in Blyth's Close. But we have since recovered a stone in the possession of James Gibson-Craig, Esq., bearing the earlier date of 1506, removed from a house which stood in very recent years, near the foot of this same wynd, on the opposite side. It appears to have formed the pediment of a dormer window, being triangular in shape, and surmounted by an unusually large crescent.

Immediately adjoining the former building, on the west side of the wynd, is the venerable mansion of the Earls of Morton, an ancient timber-fronted

[1] *Ante*, vol. i. p. 133.

[2] *Ravaillac Redivivus*, Lond. 1678, p. 12.

land, already referred to in the description of Brown's Close, Castle Hill,[1] with its fine Gothic doorway and sculptured tympanum, containing a coronet supported by unicorns. It is shown in the engraved view, with its dark projecting timber front, about half-way up the wynd. Such portions of the stone front as remain exposed exhibit the feature, which occurs so frequently in buildings of an early date, of moulded windows originally divided by stone mullions. The desolate and deserted aspect of the vice-regal residence comports with the degraded state of this once patrician locality, now "fallen on evil days and evil tongues." It has long been entirely shut up, defying as completely all attempts at investigating its interior as when *Queen's men* and *King's men* were fighting in the High Street, and Kirkaldy of Grange was bent on driving the Regent and all his followers from the town. The evidence of this mansion having been occupied by the Regent Morton is defective, though it is undoubtedly of an earlier date, and appears to have been possessed by his immediate ancestors. The earliest title which we have seen is a disposition by Archibald Douglas, younger of Whittinghame, one of the senators of the College of Justice, in which it is described as "that tenement which was some time the Earl of Mortoun's." From this it may be inferred to have been the residence of his direct ancestor, John, second Earl of Morton, who sat in the Parliament of James IV in 1504,[2] and whose grandson, William Douglas of Whittinghame, was created a senator of the College of Justice in 1575. He was a contemporary of his kinsman, the Regent Morton, and an associate with him in the murder of Rizzio; so that if the sculpture over the doorway be a device adopted by the Morton family, the corresponding one, already described in the Castle Hill, may be considered as affording considerable probability of that house having been the mansion of the Regent. William Douglas, Lord Whittinghame, resigned his office as a judge in 1590, and was succeeded by his son Archibald, the granter of the disposition referred to. He was a special favourite of James VI; accompanied him on his matrimonial voyage to Denmark, and was rewarded for his "lovable service," soon after his return, by this judicial appointment.

The portion of the wynd below this old mansion included, along with the building of 1564, another which was long used as a Roman Catholic chapel in times when scanty toleration was extended to the worshippers of the old faith. This is an antique stone fabric, from which a curiously projecting timber front was removed only a few years before its desertion as a place of worship. On the fifth flat of this tenement, approached by a steep and narrow turnpike stair, a large chamber was consecrated to the worship of the Roman Catholic Church during the greater part of last century, and probably earlier. When we last visited this primitive retreat of "Old Giant

[1] *Ante*, vol. i. p. 181.

[2] Douglas's *Peerage*, vol. ii. p. 269.

Pope, after the many shrewd brushes that he met with in his younger days," there still remained painted in simple fashion on one of the doors immediately below the chapel the name of the old Bishop, *Mr. Hay*. This was the once celebrated opponent of Bishop Wm. Abernethy Drummond, of the Scottish Episcopal Church, under the initials G. H.; and well worthy of note in the history of the locality as the last of the Bishops of Blackfriars' Wynd, where the proudest nobles of Scotland were wont of old to give place to the dignitaries of the Church.

Nearly opposite to this a large and ancient tenement still stands entire in the midst of ruins, the upper story of which was also used as a chapel. It was dedicated to St. Andrew, and formed the chief Roman Catholic place of worship in Edinburgh, until it was abandoned in the year 1813 for the ecclesiastical edifice at Broughton Street, dedicated in honour of the Virgin Mary. The interior of the chapel retained most of its original fittings when we last visited it. The framework of the simple altar-piece still remained, though the painting of the Patron Saint of Scotland, which originally filled it, had disappeared. Humble as must have been the appearance of this chapel, even when furnished with every adjunct of Catholic ceremonial for Christmas or Easter festivals, aided by the imposing habits of the officiating priests around its little altar, yet men of ancient lineage were wont to assemble among the worshippers; and during the abode of the royal exiles at Holyrood Palace, Count d'Artois, the future occupant of the French throne, with the Princes and their attendants, usually formed part of the congregation. An internal staircase formed the private entrance for the priests from the floor below, the straitened accommodations of which sufficed for the residence of these successors of the Cardinals and Archbishops who once dwelt in the same neighbourhood. The public access was by a projecting stone staircase, which forms the approach to the different floors of the building. Over its doorway is a sculptured lintel, with a shield of arms in the centre, bearing three stars in chief, with a plain cross, and over it two swords saltier ways. On either side of this is cut, in large antique characters, the inscription MISERERE MEI DEVS; and below, the initials G. G.

Only one other old building, now deserted and hastening to decay, remains on the west side of the wynd, bearing over its entrance the pious inscription: THE FEIR OF THE LORD IS THE BEGYNNING OF AL VISDOME. Below this, at the corner of the Cowgate, formerly stood the English Episcopal chapel, founded by Lord Chief Baron Smith in 1722 for a congregation of worshippers in communion with the Church of England, and recognising in its liturgy the reigning sovereign and the Hanoverian dynasty, in contradistinction to the nonjuring Church of the Scottish Episcopalians, who fervently maintained the right divine of the exiled Stuarts. It was a plain edifice, possessing no external features of an ecclesiastical

character, as may be seen in our engraving of "Cardinal Beaton's House," where it appears on the farther side of the wynd. The building existed exactly a century, having been demolished in 1822, after serving during that period as the place of worship of all loyal and devout Episcopal Churchmen, at a time when Episcopacy and Jacobitism were nearly synonymous in Scotland. The interest that attaches to it as a feature of the olden time, when such a site was selected for a chapel probably attended by a congregation including a greater array of rank and fashion than any that now assembles in Edinburgh, is further increased from its having been the place of worship of Dr. Johnson, when residing with Boswell in 1773.

Here also, and not improbably on the same site, was the town mansion of William St. Clair, Earl of Orkney, the founder of Roslin Chapel, who maintained his court at Roslin Castle with a magnificence far surpassing what had often sufficed for that of the Scottish Kings. If we are to believe the genealogist, he was royally served at his own table in vessels of gold and silver: Lord Dirleton being his master of the household, Lord Borthwick his cup-bearer, and Lord Fleming his carver, with men of ancient rank and lineage for their deputies. His Countess, Margaret Douglas, was waited on, according to Father Hay, by seventy-five gentlewomen, whereof fifty-three were daughters of noblemen, "all cloathd in velvets and silks, with their chains of gold, and other pertinents; togither with two hundred rideing gentlemen, who accompanied her in all her journeys. She had carried before her, when she went to Edinburgh, if it were darke, eighty lighted torches. Her lodgeing was att the foot of Blackfryer Wynde; so that, in a word, none matched her in all the countrey, save the Queen's Majesty."[1]

Directly opposite to the site of Baron Smith's chapel still stands one of the palatial edifices of the old capital, popularly known as Cardinal Beaton's house, which undoubtedly formed an archiepiscopal residence of no mean character in the sixteenth century. It, however, falls more correctly to be treated of as one of the most interesting among the older features of the Cowgate, though also a fitting link of that patrician street with the neighbouring haunt of the Dominicans and other ecclesiastics of the olden time. The Blackfriars' Wynd must have been stamped with a peculiar antique character, before time's effacing fingers wrought such havoc there. The vignette at the beginning of the chapter exhibits the richest group of mottoes to be found on any building in Edinburgh, forming the decorations on the architrave of a decayed old land on the east side, near the head of the wynd. A shield, charged with armorial bearings, sculptured on the left side of the doorway, as represented in the woodcut, is accompanied with the initials E. K. and the date 1619. The building above this, having a

[1] *Genealogie of the Sainte Claires of Rosslyn*, p. 26.

front to the wynd of polished ashlar, and a range of unusually large windows, separated only by very narrow uprights, is finished with string courses and rich mouldings, and forms a fine specimen of an old-town mansion of the sixteenth century. It is stated by Chambers to be entailed with the estate of the Clerks of Pennycuik, and to have formed the town residence of their ancestors. This we presume to have been the later residence of Alexander, fifth Lord Home; the same who entertained Queen Mary and Lord Darnley in his lodging near the Tron in 1565, and who afterwards turned the fortune of the field at the battle of Langside, at the head of his Border spearmen. He was one of the noble captives who surrendered to Sir William Drury on the taking of Edinburgh Castle in 1573. He was detained a prisoner, while his brave companions perished on the scaffold; and was only released at last, after a tedious captivity, to die a prisoner at large in his own house, —the same now referred to in Blackfriars' Wynd. A contemporary writer remarks: "Wpoun the secund day of Junij [1575] Alexander Lord Home wes relevit out of the Castell of Edinburgh, and wardit in his awne lugeing in the heid of the Freir Wynd, quha wes carijt thairto in ane bed, be ressone of his great infirmitie of seiknes."[1] No other portion of the Old Town of Edinburgh is more calculated to impress the thoughtful visitor with the feeling of a departed glory, replaced by squalor and decay, than the Blackfriars' Wynd. There still stands the deserted and desecrated fane; the desolate mansions of powerful nobles and senators; and the degraded palace of the Primate and Cardinal, where even Scottish monarchs have been fitly entertained. The ground which Alexander II bestowed on the Dominican Friars, as a special act of regal munificence, seems no longer possessed of value enough to tempt the labours of the builder.

Emerging again through the archway at the head of the wynd, which the royal master-printer *flitted* at his pleasure above three centuries ago, an ancient tenement in the High Street, to the east of the wynd, attracts the notice of the local historian as the mansion of Lord President Fentonbarns, a man of humble origin, the son of a baker in Edinburgh, whose eminent abilities won him the esteem and the suffrages of his contemporaries. He owed his fortunes to the favour of James VI, by whom he was nominated to fill the office of a Lord of Session, and afterwards knighted. We are inclined to think that it is to him Montgomerie alludes in his satirical sonnets addressed to *M. J. Sharpe*—in all probability an epithet of similar origin and significance to that conferred by the Jacobites on the favourite advocate of William III. The poet had failed in a suit before the Court of Session, seemingly with James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, and he takes his revenge against "his Adversars Lawyers," like other poets, in satiric rhyme. The lack of "gentle blude" is a special handle against the plebeian

[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 348.

judge, in the eyes of the high-born poet; and his second sonnet, which is sufficiently vituperative, begins—

"A Baxter's bird, a bluiter beggar borne!"[1]

This old mansion now forms the sole survivor of all the long unbroken range of timber-fronted buildings that formerly extended between St. Giles's Church and the Nether Bow. In its original state it was one of the very finest specimens of this ancient style of building in Edinburgh, having the main timbers and gables of its oaken façade richly carved, in the fashion of some of the magnificent old dwellings of the opulent Flemings in Bruges or Ghent. A new timber front, of a very commonplace description, now replaces the artistic workmanship of the sixteenth century. Some of its original features, however, still survive the transformation of newer fashions. The roof is surmounted by a range of crow-steps of the form already described as peculiar to the fifteenth or earlier part of the sixteenth centuries; and an outside stair leads to the first floor, where the ancient stone turnpike remains in its original state, decorated with the abreviated motto, in fine ornamental Gothic characters: DEO · HONOR · ET · GLIA. It is thus described in a disposition by Sir Michael Preston to Lawrence Kenrison, dated 1626, and preserved in the Burgh Charter Room: "That tenement or land, some time waste and burnt be the English; some time pertaining to umquile Mr. John Preston, some time President of the College of Justice, and my father; on the south part of the King's High Street, and on the east side of the trance of the wynd called the Blackfriars' Wynd, betwixt the said trance and land above, pertaining to the heirs of umquile Walter Chepman, upon the west," etc. The allusion to its burning shows the date of its erection to be somewhat later than 1544. But it again suffered in the civil wars that followed, though probably not so completely as to preclude repair, notwithstanding its appearance among the list of houses destroyed during the siege of Edinburgh in 1572: "Thir ar the houssis that wer destroyit this moneth (May); to wit, the Erle of Maris, now present Regent, lugeing in the Cowgait, Mr. Johne Prestonis in the Frier Wynd, David Kinloch Baxteris house in Dalgleish Closs," etc.[2] In more recent times it was the residence of Lord Fentonbarns. A little way down the wynd, on the east side, a favourite motto over an ancient doorway repeats, in bold Roman characters, with slight variation the favourite text: THE FEIR OF THE LORD IS THE BEGENING OF VISDOME. It occurs on an ancient tenement which bears evident tokens of having at one time been the residence of rank and fashion; and an iron knobbed door on one of the floors still possesses the antiquated appendage of a risping pin. The adjoining alley, styled Todrick's Wynd, acquires a special interest from its association with a memorable

[1] Alexander Montgomerie's *Poems*; complete edition, by Dr. Irving, p. 74.

[2] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 299.

deed in the bloody annals of our national history. An inscription over a doorway at the head of the wynd, long covered up with plaster by some former tenant, to save the cost of a signboard, reads: CŒLUM ASPICIO · SOLUM DESPICIO. This house, I assume, from its agreement with the narrative of Bothwell's proceedings, to be the lodging of John Cockburn, Laird of Ormiston, where some of his accomplices joined him, on the 9th of February 1567, while Queen Mary spent her last evening with Darnley. They left the house shortly after nine, having had notice of the Queen's passing with her attendants; and so making their way down Todrick's Wynd, the Earl and his wretched hirelings proceeded, by the gate of the Blackfriars' Monastery in the Cowgate, to the Kirk of Field, and there fired the powder by which the house of the Provost of the Kirk of Field was blown into the air, and Lord Darnley, with his servant Taylor, slain.

The closes between this and the Nether Bow mostly exist in the same state as they have done for two centuries or more, though wofully contaminated by the slovenly habits of their modern inmates. South Gray's or the Mint Close, however, forms an exception. It is a comparatively spacious and aristocratic-looking alley; and some feeble halo of its ancient honours still lingers about its substantial and picturesque mansions. It affords a curious instance of a close retaining for centuries the name of a simple burgess while it has been the residence of nobles and representatives of ancient families, in striking contrast to the variable nomenclature of most of the alleys of the old town. It is mentioned by its present name in a charter dated 1512, in which "*umq^le* John Gray, burgess of Edinburgh," is the author of earlier titles referred to. By an older deed, the ground on which it is built appears to have formed part of the lands of the Monastery of Greyfriars. In "the Inventer and Wryts of ane lodging," etc., on the east side of the close, a charter is mentioned, dated 1456, "granted be David Rae, vicar generall; Ffindlay Ker, prior; and the rest of the Convent of Graifriers att Edinburgh, to Andrew Mowbray, burgess," of a certain piece of land on which it is built, bounded by the king's wall on the south. About halfway down the close, on the east side, stands the ancient mansion of the Earls of Selkirk, having a large garden to the south, while the principal entrance is from Hyndford's Close. The building has the appearance of great antiquity. The ground floor of the south front seems to have been an open arcade, or cloister, and on the west wall a picturesque turret staircase projects from the first floor into the close. This ancient tenement has successively formed the residence of the Earls of Stirling, of the Earl of Hyndford, and, at a still later period, of Dr. Rutherford, the maternal grandfather of Sir Walter Scott. Hyndford's Close, which forms the main approach to the house, retains its antique character, having on the west side a range of singularly picturesque overhanging timber gables. It

is neatly paved, terminating in a small court open at one side, and altogether presents a very pleasing specimen of the retired old-fashioned gentility which once characterised those urban retreats. The fine old house possesses peculiar interest as a favourite haunt of Scott during his earlier years. Its vicinity to the High School gave it additional attractions to him while pursuing his studies there; and he frequently referred, in after life, to the happy associations he had with this alley of the old town. A good view of the south front of the house, from the garden, is given in the Abbotsford edition of the great novelist's works.[1] Later associations connect this venerable memorial of older times with another among the most remarkable men of his age and country, for here the youthful Thomas Chalmers took up his lodging, on his first arrival in Edinburgh in 1799.

A lofty tenement, enclosing a small paved area to the south, still bears the name of Elphinstone's Court, having been built by Sir James Elphinstone in 1679. From him it passed to Sir Francis Scott of Thirlestane, by whom it was sold to Patrick Wedderburn, Esq., who assumed the title of Lord Chesterhall on his elevation to the bench in 1755. His son Alexander, afterwards the celebrated Lord Loughborough, Lord High Chancellor of England, disposed of it shortly after his father's death to Lord Stonefield, who sat as a judge in the Court of Session during the long period of thirty-nine years, and died in this house at the beginning of the present century,—so recent is the desertion of this locality by the grandees of the capital.

Various ancient tenements are to be found in adjoining closes of which tradition has kept no note, and we have failed to obtain any other clue to their history. One large mansion in South Foulis Close bears the date 1539 over its main doorway, with two coats of arms impaled on one large shield in the centre, but all now greatly defaced. Another, nearly opposite to it, exhibits an old oak door, ornamented with fine carving still in tolerable preservation, although the whole place has been converted into store-rooms and cellars. But adjoining this is a relic of antiquity, beside which the works of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries appear but as things of yesterday; and even the ancient chapel of St. Margaret, in the Castle, becomes a work of comparatively recent date. Sir John Clerk, in writing to his friend and brother antiquary, Mr. Gale, in 1741, refers to the recent destruction of an old arch at Edinburgh "that nobody ever imagined to be Roman, and yet it seems it was, by an urn discovered in it, with a good many silver coins," including a rare one of Faustina Minor. It represents, he says, "her bust on one side, and on the reverse a *lectisternium*, with this inscription, SAECULA FELICITAS."[2] He does not mention the site of this Roman arch; for his object is to express sympathy with his correspond-

[1] Vol. ix. *Redgauntlet*, p. 37.

[2] *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannia*, No. II. Part iii. p. 348.

ent in the fate of a similar structure at York. The omission is greatly to be regretted; but in the absence of any definite localisation one is tempted to associate it with other Roman remains on the site of a historical arch of later times. In the front of a tall and narrow tenement at the Nether Bow, nearly opposite to "John Knox's House," a piece of ancient sculpture long formed one of the most noted of the antiquities of Edinburgh. It consists of two fine profile heads, in relief and life-size, pronounced by the earliest writers on the subject to be undoubted specimens of Roman art. The bas-reliefs were first noticed in 1727, in Gordon's *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, accompanied by an engraving, where he remarks: "A very learned and illustrious antiquary here, by the ideas of the heads, judges them to be representations of the Emperor SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, and his wife JULIA. This is highly probable and consistent with the Roman history; for that the Emperor, and most of his august family, were in Scotland appears plain in Xephiline, from Dio."[1] This idea, thus first suggested, is fully warranted by the general resemblance of the heads to those on the Roman coins of that reign. A tablet inserted between the heads contains the inscription in antique characters—

In sudore vultꝰ. tui vescris, pane tuo. · G · 3.[2]

This quotation from the Latin Bible, of the curse pronounced on our first parents after the fall, and no doubt the work of a very different period, was the source of the vulgar tradition gravely combated by Maitland, our earliest local historian, that the heads were intended as representations of Adam and Eve. These pieces of ancient sculpture, which were said in his time to have been removed from a house on the north side of the street, may have been discovered in digging the foundations of the building, and along with them the Gothic inscription: to all appearance a fragment from the ruins of the neighbouring convent of St. Mary, or some other of the old monastic establishments of Edinburgh. The words of the inscription correspond with the reading of Gutenberg's Bible, the first edition, printed at Mentz in 1455; and it would have a greater interest to the antiquary were it not brought into association with valuable relics of a remoter era. The characters of the inscription leave little reason to doubt that it is the work of the same period as the printing of the Mentz Bible.

The old tenement, which is rendered interesting as the conservator of those valuable monuments of the Roman invasion, and is thus also associated

[1] *Itiner. Septent.* p. 186.

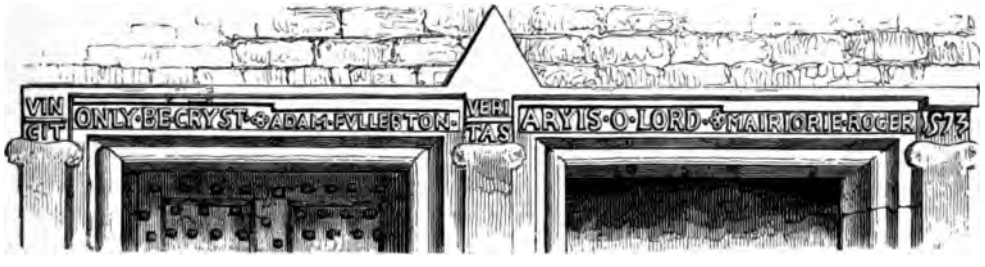
[2] Maitland and others have mistaken the concluding letters of the inscription as a contraction for the date, which the former states as 1621, and a subsequent writer as 1603. Mr. D. Laing was the first to point out its true meaning as a contracted form of reference to Genesis, chapter iii. Vide *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. iii. p. 287, where a very accurate engraving of the sculpture, by David Allan, is introduced. The bas-reliefs are now (1891) in the Antiquarian Museum.

in some degree with the introduction of the first printed Bible into Scotland, has already been referred to as that from whence Thomas Bassendyne, our famed old Scottish typographer, issued his beautiful folio Bible in 1574. The front land, which is adorned with the Roman bas-reliefs, is proved from the titles to have been rebuilt about the beginning of the eighteenth century, in the room of an ancient timber-fronted land, which was "lately, of need, taken down," having no doubt fallen into ruinous decay. The back part of the tenement, however, retains unequivocal evidence of being the original building. It is approached from the Fountain Close by the same turnpike stair as gives access to the front land; and owing to the alteration in the level of floors, and other changes consequent on the wedding of this wrinkled dowager of the sixteenth century with its spruce partner of the eighteenth, an explorer of its intricate labyrinths finds himself beset by as many inconveniences as Mr. Lovel experienced on his first introduction to the mitred Abbot of Trotcosey's Grange, at Monkbarns. On ascending the winding stair by which he reaches the door of the first floor, he has then to descend another; and after threading a dark passage on this lower level, somewhat in the form of the letter Z, he reaches a third flight of steps equally zigzag in their direction, whose ascent—if he have courage to persevere so far,—lands him in "that other tenement of land, commonly called the Fountain, a little above the Nether Bow, on the south side of the High Street of Edinburgh; and which tenement of land, formerly called the Backland, some time belonged to Nicol and Alexander Bassandene, lawful sons to Michael Bassandene, lying in the closs called Bassandene's Closs." Such is the description of this ancient fabric, as given in the earlier title-deeds of the present proprietor. The same building is repeatedly referred to in the evidence of the accomplices of the Earl of Bothwell in the murder of Darnley, an event which took place in the lifetime of the old printer. In the deposition of George Dalgleish, one of those, who was executed for his share in that crime, it is stated that "eftir thay enterit within the [Nether Bow] Port, thai zeid up abone Bassyntine's house, on the south side of the gait, and knockit at ane dur beneth the sword slippers, and callit for the Laird of Ormestounes, and one within answerit he was not thare; and thai passit down a cloiss beneth Frier Wynd, and enterit in at the zet of the Black Friers."[1] This reference clearly indicates the site of the Laird of Ormiston's lodging, as well as that of the tenement now described; the only question is, whether the latter was that of Thomas Bassendyne, the printer, referred to in the imprint of his rare quarto edition of Sir David Lindsay's Poems, printed in 1574, while "dwelland at the Nether Bow." In the statement of debts appended to his will,[2] there was "awand to Alesoun Tod, mother to the defunct, for half ane zeiris maile of the house iiii l.;"

[1] Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, Supplement, p. 495. [2] *Bannatyne Misc.* vol. ii. p. 202.

while there was due to him, "be Michael Bassinden, bruther to the said vmquhile Thomas, of byrun annuellis, the soume of ane hundreth ten pundis." From this it seems probable that his mother was life-rented in that part of the house which formed the printer's dwelling and establishment, while the remainder, belonging to himself, was occupied by his brother. At all events he leaves, in his will, "his thrid, the ane half thairof to his wyf, and the vthir half to his mother, and Michael, and his bairnes;" in which we presume to have been included the house, which we find both he and *his bairns* afterwards possessing, and for which no rent would appear to have been exacted during the lifetime of the printer.

The name of the Fountain, by which the old tenement is distinguished in the titles, is curious. The well, which now bears the same name, had in all probability formerly stood either in front of this building, or more probably



Ancient Doorways, Fountain Close.

—from the speciality of the name, and the narrowness of the street at that point,—it had formed a portion of the building itself; for it is not styled the Fountain Land, according to usual custom, but simply *The Fountain.* In the evidence of the Earl of Bothwell's accomplices, already referred to, it is stated by William Powrie, that after "thai hard the crack, thai past away togidder out at the Frier Yet, and sinderit quhen thai came to the Cowgate, pairt up the Blackfrier Wynd, and pairt up the cloiss which is under the Endmyleis Well."[1] This there can be little doubt is the same well, though no alley lower down appears as a thoroughfare in early maps.

On the east side of the close, directly opposite the entrance to Bassendyne's house, an ancient entrance of a highly ornamental character appears. It consists of two doorways, with pilasters on each side supporting an architrave adorned with inscriptions and the date 1573, as represented in the accompanying woodcut. Adam Fullerton, the builder of this mansion, whose name is carved over the left doorway, was an influential citizen in the reign of Queen Mary, and an active colleague and coadjutor of Edward Hope in the cause of the Reformation. In 1561 his name appears as one of the

[1] Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, Supplement, p. 567.

bailies of Edinburgh, who, along with Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, the Provost, laid hold of a poor craftsman who had been guilty of the enormity of playing Robin Hood, and condemned him to be hanged: a procedure which ended in the mob becoming masters of the town, compelling the magistrates to sue for the mediation of the Governor of the Castle, and at length fairly to succumb to the rioters.[1] Only two months after this commotion Queen Mary landed at Leith, and was loyally entertained by the town of Edinburgh, Adam Fullerton doubtless taking a prominent part among her civic hosts. In the General Assembly held at Leith, 16th January 1571, his name occurs as commissioner for the town of Edinburgh.[2] On the 23d of June following, during the memorable siege of Edinburgh by the Regent Mar, in the name of the infant King, two hundred of the burgesses of the capital who favoured the Regent passed privately to Leith, which was then held by the Regent's forces, and there made choice of Adam Fullerton for their captain.[3] The consequence of this was his being "denuncit our souerane ladies rebell, and put to the horne" on the 18th of August following;[4] and "vpoun the tuantie nynt day of the said moneth, James Duke of Chattellarault, George Erle of Huntlie, Alexander Lord Home, accumpanyit with diuerse prelatis and barronis, past to the tolbuith of Edinburgh; and thair sittand in parliament, the thrie estaitts being convenit, foirfaltit Matho Erle of Lennox, James Erle of Mortoun, John Erle of Mar," and many other nobles, knights, and burgesses, of the Parliament, foremost among the latter of whom is Adam Fullerton, burgess of Edinburgh, "and decernit ilk ane of thame to have tint and foirfaltit thair lyvis, lands, and guidis, and ordaynit thair armes to be riffin, and thair names and armes to be eleidit out of the buikis thairof for euer."[5] The outlawed burgess's house in the Fountain Close appears to have been immediately seized by his opponents as a forfeiture to the Queen, in whose name they acted, and to have been converted into a battery and stronghold for assailing the enemy, for which its lofty character and vicinity to the city wall peculiarly fitted it. A contemporary historian relates that "the Regent, Johne Erle of Mar, for beseageing of the toun of Edinburgh, cawsit nyne pece of ordonance, great and small, be broght to the Cannogait, to have assailzeit the east port of the toun; bot that place was not thoght commodious, wharefore the gunnis war transportit to a fauxburg of the toun, callit Pleasands; and thairfra they laid to thair batterie aganis the toun walls, whilk began the tent of September, and shot at a platfurme whilk was erectit upon a housheid, perteining to Adame Fullartoun."[6]

This desperate and bloody civil war was happily of brief duration. Adam Fullerton speedily returned to his house at the Nether Bow; and while the

[1] *Diurn. of Occurrents*, p. 283; *ante*, vol. i. p. 88.
[2] *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, p. 208. [3] *Diurn. of Occurrents*, p. 227. [4] *Ibid.* p. 239.
[5] *Ibid*, p. 244. [6] *Hist. of James the Sext*, Bann. Club, p. 94.

English forces under Sir William Drury were casting up trenches and planting cannon for the siege of Edinburgh Castle, in the name of the young King, he was chosen a burgess of the Parliament which assembled in the Tolbooth on the 26th of April 1573.[1] This date corresponds with that carved on the lintel of the old mansion in the Fountain Close. It may be doubted, however, whether it indicates more than its repair, as it is expressly mentioned by the contemporary already quoted that "thaj did litill or na skaith to the said hous and platforme."[2] This tenement of the stout-hearted old burgher of Queen Mary's day, with its apt inscriptions carved in grateful acknowledgment of triumph in a good cause, presents special claims of interest, associated as it is with so important a period of national history. The VINCIT VERITAS of Adam Fullerton acquires a new force when we consider the circumstances that dictated it, and the desperate struggle in which he had borne a part before he returned to carve it over the threshold so recently held by his enemies. To this he added the pious aphorisms, ONLY . BE . CRYST and ARYIS . O . LORD, and coupled with his own name that of his wife, Marjory Roger, the partner in his trials and his triumph.

The Marquis of Tweeddale's Close, which lies immediately to the east of the venerable tenement of Adam Fullerton, derives its name from the large mansion still remaining at the foot of it, though long since deserted by its noble occupants. It is mentioned by Defoe among the princely buildings of Edinburgh, "with a plantation of lime trees behind it, the place not allowing room for a large garden."[3] This, however, must have been afterwards remedied, as its pleasure-grounds latterly extended down to the Cowgate. Successive generations of the Tweeddale family occupied this house, which continued to be their town residence till the general desertion of the Scottish capital by the nobility soon after the Union. The old mansion still retains many traces of former magnificence, notwithstanding the rude changes to which it has been subjected. Its builder and first occupant was Dame Margaret Ker, Lady Yester, third daughter of Mark, first Earl of Lothian, born in 1572, the year of John Knox's death. Among the list of Lady Yester's "Mortifications" (MS. Advoc. Lib.) is the following: "At Edinburgh built and repaired ane great lodging, in the south side of the High Street, near the Nether Bow, and mortified out of the same ane yearly an: rent 200 m. for the poor in the hospital beside the College kirk y^r; and yrafter having resolved to bestow ye s^d lodging, with the whole furniture yrin to Jo: now E. of Tweeddale, her oy, by consent of the Town Council, ministers, and kirk-sessions, she redeemed the s^d lodging, and freed it, by payment of 2000 merks, and left the s^d lodging only burdened with 40 m. yearly." Lady Yester was also the founder of the church in Edinburgh that bears her name. By her the house was presented, as thus appears, to her

[1] *Diurn. of Occurrents*, p. 331. [2] *Hist. of James the Sext*, p. 251. [3] Defoe's *Tour*, vol. iv. p. 86.

oy, or grandson, John, second Earl of Tweeddale, a somewhat versatile politician, who joined the standard of Charles I. at Nottingham in 1642, during the lifetime of his father. He afterwards adopted the popular cause, and fought at the head of a Scottish troop at the battle of Marston Moor. He assisted at the coronation of Charles II at Scone, and sat thereafter in Cromwell's Parliament as member for the county of Haddington. He was sworn a privy councillor to the King on his restoration, and continued in the same by James VII. He lived to take an active share in the Revolution, and to fill the office of High Chancellor of Scotland under William III ; by whom he was created Marquis of Tweeddale, and afterwards appointed High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament in 1695, while the grand project of the Darien expedition was pending. He died at Edinburgh before that scheme was carried out, and is perhaps as good a specimen as could be selected of the *weathercock politician* of uncertain times. The last noble occupant of the old mansion at the Nether Bow was, we believe, the fourth marquis, who held the office of Secretary of State for Scotland from 1742 until its abolition. The fine old gardens, which descended by a succession of ornamental terraces to the Cowgate, were destroyed to make way for the Cowgate Chapel, now also forsaken by its original founders. The locality acquired a fascinating interest for a past generation as the scene of a mysterious murder perpetrated there in open day. At the date of this deed in 1806 Tweeddale House was occupied by the British Linen Banking Company, and as Begbie, a porter of the Bank, was entering the close, having in his possession £4392 which he was bringing from the Leith branch, he was stabbed directly to the heart with the blow of a knife, furnished with a broad pasteboard guard to prevent the blood spurting on the murderer's sleeve, and the whole money was carried off without any clue being found to the perpetrator of the murder. The blood, flowing in a channel to the street, gave the first warning of the deed. Its character, so differing from the ordinary ruffian's bludgeon, and the blow aimed so exactly at the heart, suggested the idea of an Italian poniard ; and perhaps helped to lead the officers of justice astray in their search for the assassin. A reward of five hundred guineas was offered for his discovery ; but although some of the notes were found concealed in the grounds of Bellevue, in the neighbourhood of the town, no trace of the murderer could be obtained. The exact spot on which this mysterious deed was effected is pointed out to the curious. The murderer must have stood within the entry to a stair on the right side of the close, at the step of which Begbie bled to death undiscovered, though within a few feet of the most crowded thoroughfare in the town. The lovers of the marvellous may still be found occasionally recurring to this riddle. James Mackoull, a desperado who subsequently resided in Rose Street under the name of Captain Moffat, was convicted of a subsequent bank robbery on a

larger scale, reprieved from the gallows, and died in Edinburgh jail fourteen years afterwards without any confession, though accredited by the secret agents of police with the crime. This was, however, a mere suspicion. Mr. C. K. Sharpe informed me that a medical man of strangely recluse habits, who had been at the time a student at the University, died in Leith many years after, and on his deathbed he confessed to the deed. But if so, the fact was known to few. The story now survives as one of the unsolved mysteries of crime; and as the memories of a past generation prolong themselves into our own time, the question is at times recalled with somewhat of its old seductive mystery: "Who murdered Begbie?"

But this eastern nook of the old town has associations of a higher and more enduring interest, with men eminent for talents and noted for their deeds; though tradition has neglected to assign the exact tenements wherein they dwelt of yore, while mingling with the living crowd. Here was the abode of Robert Lekprevik, another of our early Scottish printers, to whom it is probable that Bassendyne succeeded, on his removal to St. Andrews in 1570. Here, too, appears to have been the lodging of Archbishop Sharp. Nicoll tells us that the newly-consecrated bishops, on the 8th of May 1662, "being all convenit in the Bishop of St. Androis hous neir to the Neddir Bow, come up all in their gownis, and come to the Parliament, quha wer resavit with much honour, being convoyit fra the Archebischop of Sant Androis hous with 2 erles, viz. the Erle of Kellie and the Erle of Weymis." Of scarce less interest is the lodging of a humble barber and wig maker who carried on business at the Nether Bow, where his gifted son, William Falconer, the author of *The Shipwreck*, is believed to have been born about 1730. Here, at least, was his home and playground during his early years, while he shared in the sports and frolics of the rising generation; all but himself long since at rest in forgotten graves.

World's End Close is the appropriate title of the last alley before we reach the site of the Nether Bow Port, which terminated of old the boundaries of the walled capital, and separated it from its courtly rival, the burgh of Canongate. In the earliest title-deed we have seen connected with it, it is called Sir James Stanfield's Close. The name perpetuates that of an old resident once associated with a stranger mystery than that of the murdered Begbie. Sir James Stanfield of Newmills, whose death took place in 1687 under circumstances which excited great interest at the time, occupied the house at the head of the close looking into the main street; and in the evidence subsequently adduced to prove that he had been subject to fits of melancholy, and was therefore not unlikely to have attempted self-destruction, it is stated "that once he was throwing himself out at ane window at the Nether Bow, if Thomas Lendall had not pulled him in by the feet." The judicial proceedings reveal the faith in an ancient superstition

surviving with undiminished power at this comparatively recent date. Sir James was found drowned; and suspicion being excited by a hasty funeral, and the alleged fact that his wife had the grave clothes already prepared, the Privy Council appointed two surgeons to examine the body, who reported that the corpse bled on being touched by the eldest son, Philip. The servants of the family were examined by torture, without eliciting any further proof. Yet on very vague circumstantial evidence, added to the supernatural testimony of the murdered man, the son, a notorious profligate, was condemned and hanged at the Cross. His tongue was cut out for cursing his father, his right hand struck off for parricide, his head exposed on the east port of Haddington, and his body hung in chains on the Gallow-lee, between Edinburgh and Leith. He died denying his guilt; and Fountainhall adds, after recording sundry miraculous evidences against him: "This is a dark case of divination, to be remitted to the great day; only it is certain he was a bad youth, and may serve as a beacon to all profligate persons." Though a great part of the old close has been recently rebuilt, it retains some interesting traces of former times. A finely sculptured piece of open tracery, apparently the top of a rich Gothic niche or ambry, is built into the wall over a modern doorway; and the lintel of an old land at the foot of the close is decorated with a shield of arms, now partly defaced, and this variation of the common motto: PRAISZE . THE . LORD . FOR . AL . HIS . GIFTIS . M . S. With which pious ascription we bid adieu for a time to Old Edinburgh, properly so called, and pass into the ancient Royal Burgh of Canongate.

CHAPTER VII

THE CANONGATE AND ABBEY SANCTUARY

THE ancient Burgh of Canongate may claim as its founder David I, by whom the Abbey of Holyrood was reared in the forest of Drumselch early in the twelfth century, according to the legend of a later age, as a shrine for the miraculous cross so opportunely brought to the aid of the royal hunter who had profaned the festival of the exaltation of the Cross by yielding to the temptations of the chase. But Ælred had long before stated that it was founded by the youngest son of Queen Margaret for the Black Rood "which she brought with her to Scotland and handed down as an heir-loom to her sons." The erection, in the sheltered valley under Salisbury Crags, of the Abbey dedicated to the most prized relic of Scotland's sainted Queen was certain to be followed, as in all similar foundations, by a settlement of church vassals on its outskirts. Its right of sanctuary, guarded for centuries by the Girth Cross, attracted others; and its canons and other ecclesiastics contributed ere long to the growth of the little church town by pious foundations, such as St. Thomas's Chapel and Hospital near the Abbey Close; as well as by others of a secular character, including the Burgh

Canongate Tolbooth.

Tolbooth, where the Abbot held his courts, and administered justice after the fashion of such old feudal spiritual lords. Hence the origin of the Burgh of Canongate. Its characteristics as a vassal of the Church have perpetuated themselves into modern times; its bailies inherit some of the old canons' rights, and still claim a feudal lordship over the property of the burgh as their successors. Most of the title-deeds set forth that the property is "to be holden of the Magistrates of the Canongate, as come in place of the Monastery of Holycross." The ancient burgh thus sprang up wholly independent of the neighbouring capital, gathering as naturally around the consecrated walls of the monastery, whose dependents and vassals were its earliest builders, as did its warlike neighbour under shelter of the over-hanging battlements of the more ancient fortress. Something of native-born character seems to have possessed these rivals, and exhibited itself in very legible phases in their history; each of them retaining distinctive marks of their very different parentage.

In the year 1450, when James II granted to the lieges his charter, empowering them to "fosse, bulwark, wall, toure, turate, and otherwise to strengthen" his Burgh of Edinburgh, because of their "dreid of the evil and skeith of oure enemies of England," the ramparts extended no farther eastward than the Nether Bow. Open fields, in all probability, then lay outside the gate, dividing from it the neighbouring Abbey village; and although at a later period a suburb would appear to have been built beyond the walls, so that the jurisdiction of the town was claimed within the Burgh of Canongate so far as St. John's Cross, no attempt was made to secure or to protect it in any later extension of the fortifications of the capital. Towards this suburb the Burgh of the Canons of Holyrood gradually progressed westward, until as now one unbroken line of houses extended from the Castle to the Abbey.

It seems strange that no attempt should have been made, either in the disastrous year 1513, when the Cowgate was enclosed, or at any subsequent period, to include the Canongate and the royal residence within the extended military defences. It only affords, however, additional evidence that the marked difference in the origin of each maintained an influence after the lapse of centuries.[1] The probability is that greater confidence was reposed, both by clergy and laity, in the sanctity of the monks of Holyrood than in the martial prowess of their vassals. Nor did such reliance prove misplaced until, in the year 1544, the hosts of Henry VIII ravaged the distracted and defenceless kingdom, under the guidance of the Earl of Hertford, to

[1] The Canongate appears to have been so far enclosed as to answer ordinary municipal purposes. It had its gates, which were shut at night, as is shown farther on, but the walls do not seem to have partaken in any degree of the character of military defences, and were never attempted to be held out against an enemy.

whom the monk's cowl and the abbot's mitre were even less sacred than the jester's suit of motley. There is little reason to think that a single fragment of building prior to that invasion exists in the Canongate, apart from the remains of the Abbey and Palace. The return, however, of Queen Mary to Scotland in 1561, and the permanent residence of the Court at Holyrood, gave a new impetus to the capital and its suburban neighbour. The earliest date now to be found on any private building is that of 1565, which occurs on a tenement at the head of Dunbar's Close, characterised by features of antiquity no less strongly marked than those of any among the most venerable fabrics in the burgh.

The rival Parliament which assembled here during the siege of the capital in 1571, under the Regent Lennox, "in William Oikis hous in the Cannongat, within the freidom of Edinburgh, albeit the samyne wes nocht within the portis thairof," has already been referred to.[1] But an ingenious stratagem which was tried by the besiegers shortly afterwards, for the purpose of surprising the town, forms one of the most interesting incidents connected with this locality. This "slicht of weir" is thus narrated by the contemporary diarist already quoted: Upon the 22nd day of August 1571, my Lord Regent and the nobles professing the King's authority, seeing they could not obtain entry into the burgh of Edinburgh, caused several bands of soldiers to proceed from Leith during the night, and conceal themselves in the closes and adjoining houses immediately without the Nether Bow Port, while a considerable reserve force was collected at the Abbey, ready on a concerted signal from their trumpets to hasten to their aid. On the following morning, about five o'clock, when it was believed the night watch would be withdrawn, six soldiers, disguised as millers, approached the Port, leading a file of horses laden with sacks of meal, which were to be thrown down as they entered, so as to impede the closing of the gates; and while they assailed the warders with weapons they wore concealed under their disguise, the men in ambush were ready to rush out and storm the town. "But," says the diarist, "the eternall God, knawing the cruell murther that wald haue bene done and committit vpoun innocent pover personis of the said burgh, wald not thole this interpryse to tak successe, bot evin quhen the said meill wes almaist at the port, and the said men of weare standand in clois heids in readines to haue enterit at the bak of the samyne, movit Thomas Barrie to pass furth of the port, doun to the Cannogait, to have sene his awne hous, quhair in his said passage he persavit the saidis ambushmentis of men of weare, and with celeritie returnit and warnit the watchemen and keiparis of the said port; quhilk causit thame to steik the samin quicklie, and sua this devyse and interpryse tuke na prosperous effect."[2] The citizens took

[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 214; vide *ante*, vol. i. p. 108.
[2] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 239, 240.

warning from this, and built another gate within the outer port to secure them against any such surprise. There is something amusingly simple both in the ambuscade of the besiegers, and its discovery by the honest burgher while taking his morning's stroll beyond the walls. But the whole incidents of this siege display an almost total ignorance of the science of war, or of the use of the engines they had at command. The besiegers gallop up Leith Wynd and down St. Mary's Wynd on their way to Dalkeith, seemingly unmolested by the burgher watch, who overlooked them from the walls; or they valorously drag their artillery up the Canongate, and after venturing a few shots at the Nether Bow they drag them back, regarding it as a feat of no little merit to get them safely home again.

Gothic Niche,
Old Fleshmarket Close, Canongate.

Many houses still remain scattered about the main street and the lanes of the Canongate, which withstood these vicissitudes of the Douglas wars; and one which has been described to us by its present owner as of old styled *the Parliament House*, may possibly be that of William Oikis, wherein the Regent Lennox, with the Earls of Morton, Mar, Glencairn, Crawford, Menteith, and Buchan, the Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, and others assembled, and after pronouncing the doom of forfaulture against William Maitland, younger of Lethington, and the chief of their opponents, adjourned the Parliament to meet again at Stirling. This house, which is situated on the west side of the Old Fleshmarket Close, presents externally as mean an appearance as may well be conceived. An inspection of its interior, however, furnishes unquestionable evidence both of its former magnificence and its early date. The house is now in the most wretched state of dilapidation and decay, and is one of the very last buildings in Edinburgh that a superficial observer would single out for any assemblage except a parliament of jolly beggars; but on penetrating to an inner lobby of its gloomy interior, and exploring the apartments partitioned off beyond it, it becomes obvious that here was originally a large chamber of ornate character, amply sufficing for the meeting of the Regent Lennox and the nobles of his party. On one side is seen a large and curiously carved niche, of the same character as those described in the Guise Palace. The workmanship of it, as shown in the accompanying woodcut, is more elaborate than most of those previously noticed. Directly opposite to this, but separated from it by

modern partitions, a large Gothic fireplace is decorated with rich mouldings and clustered pillars at the sides; and alongside of it is a square-headed ambry, deeply recessed, and finished with mouldings in the same style. When it became known that an attempt was being made to hold a meeting of the Estates in the neighbouring burgh, the burgesses and the garrison of the Castle used their utmost efforts to compel the Regent's advisers to adjourn. Cannon were planted in the Blackfriars' Yards, as well as on the walls, to batter this novel Parliament House; and the Castle guns were plied with such effect as "did greit skaith in the heid of the Cannogait to the houssis thairof." In all probability this dilapidated relic of ancient wealth and magnificence survives nearly in the same dismantled state in which its ruins were hastily repaired on the return of peace.

The adjoining closes to the eastward abounded, a few years since, with ancient timber-fronted tenements of a singularly picturesque character; but the value of property became for a time so much depreciated in this neighbourhood that they were abandoned by their owners to decay. When making a drawing of a group of them, which presented peculiarly attractive features for the pencil, we observed more than one weather-worn intimation of *Lodgings to Let* enlivening the fronts of tenements which even the most needy mendicant would have hesitated to occupy, though their hospitable doors stood wide to second the invitation. When we next visited them, the whole mass had tumbled to ruin, leaving only here and there a sculptured doorway and defaced inscription to indicate their former importance. Several of the inscribed lintels still remain in Coul's and the Old High School Closes. Among the ruined tenements to the east of the latter a fine stone land invited special notice. Its main front, in Mid Common Close, was adorned with dormer windows, string-courses, and other architectural decorations of an early period. Over one of the windows on the first floor this devout confession of faith was cut in large Roman characters: I . TAKE . THE . LORD . JESVS AS . MY . ONLY . ALL . SVFFICIENT . PORTION . TO . CONTENT . ME . 1614. This tenement, however, has shared the fate of its less substantial neighbours, having been pulled down to make way for a manufactory that now occupies its site.

The Old High School Close derives its name from a large mansion which stands in an open court at the foot, and was occupied for many years as the High School of the Burgh. The building is ornamented with dormer windows, and a neat pediment in the centre, bearing a sun-dial, with the date 1704. The school dates from a remote era. It appears to have been founded in connection with the Abbey, before a similar institution existed in the capital. It is referred to in a charter granted by James V in 1529; and Henryson, once the pupil of Vocat, clerk and orator of the Convent of Holyrood, is named as having successfully taught the Burgh Grammar School.

Repeated notices of it occur in the Burgh Records, *e.g.*: "5 *April* 1580. —The quhilk day compeirit Gilbert Tailyeour, skuilmaister, and renuncit and dimittit his gift grauntit to him be Adame Bischope of Orknay, of the rycht of the Grammar Schole during his lyftyme, in favouris of the baillies and counsall," who accordingly restored it to him, "to be haldin of thame, as thai quha hes undoutitt rycht to dispone the samyne."[1] A little farther east one of the most beautifully executed inscriptions of the seventeenth century is carved over the entrance to Rae's Close. It consists of the following comprehensive prayer—

MISERERE MEI DOMINE ; A PECCATO, PROBRO, DEBITO,
ET MORTE SUBITA, ME LIBERA. 1 . 6 . 1 . 8 .

Rae's Close appears, from repeated references to it in the Register of the Burgh, to have been the only open thoroughfare between Leith Wynd and the Water Gate: *e.g.* orders are given, 6th December 1568, "to caus big vpe the fuit of Ra Cloce"; again, 18th October 1574, "The Bailleis and Counsale ordains thair Thesaurer to big and upput ane yett upon Rais Cloce, and mak the samyn lokfast," a charge for which afterwards appears in the Treasurer's accounts (*Mait. Misc.* vol. ii. pp. 316, 330, 336). Even in 1647, when Gordon's bird's-eye view was drawn, only one other thoroughfare appears, and nearly the whole ground lying behind the row of houses in the main street consists of open gardens, with a wall running along the North Back of the Canongate.

Another stone tenement in the same locality presents its antique gabled façade to the street, adorned with a curious figure of a turbaned Moor occupying a pulpit, projecting from a recess over the second floor. Various romantic stories are told of the Morocco Land, as this ancient tenement is styled. The following is as complete an outline of the most consistent of them as we have been able to gather, though it is scarcely necessary to premise that it rests on very different authority from some of the historical associations previously noticed. During one of the tumultuous outbreaks for which the mob of Edinburgh has been noted from remote times which occurred soon after the accession of Charles I. to his father's throne, the Provost, who had rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious, was assaulted, his house broken into and fired, and mob law completely established in the town. On the restoration of order several of the rioters were seized, and, among others, Andrew Gray, a younger son of the Master of Gray, whose descendants now inherit the ancient honours and title of that family. He was convicted as the ringleader of the mob and, notwithstanding the exertions of powerful friends, such was the influence of the Provost—who was naturally exasperated by the proceedings of the rioters,—that young Gray

[1] Register of the Burgh of the Canongate ; *Maitland Club Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 345.

was condemned to be executed within a day or two after his trial. The last day of his doomed life had drawn to a close, and the scaffold was already preparing at the Cross for his ignominious death; but the old Tolbooth showed as usual its proper sense of the privileges of gentle blood. That very night he effected his escape by means of a rope and file conveyed to him by a faithful vassal, who had previously drugged a posset for the sentinel at *the Purses* and effectually put a stop to his interference. A boat lay at the foot of one of the neighbouring closes by which he was ferried over the North Loch; and long before the town gates were opened on the following morning, a lessening sail near the mouth of the Firth told to the watchful eye of his vassal that Andrew Gray was safe beyond pursuit.

Years passed over, and the sack of the obnoxious Provost's house, as well as the escape of the ringleader, had faded from the minds of all save some of his own immediate relatives. Gloom and terror now pervaded the streets of the capital. It was the terrible year 1645—the last visitation of the pestilence to Edinburgh,—when, as tradition tells us, grass grew thickly about the Cross, once as crowded a centre of thoroughfare as Europe had to boast of. Maitland relates that such was the terror which prevailed at this period that debtors incarcerated in the Tolbooth were set at large; all who were not freemen were compelled, under heavy penalties, to leave the town; until at length, "by the unparalleled ravages committed by the plague, it was spoiled of its inhabitants to such a degree that there were scarce sixty men left capable of assisting in defence of the town, in case of an attack."[1] The common council ordered the town walls to be repaired, and a party of the train-bands to guard them, an immediate attack being dreaded from the victorious army of Montrose. They strove to provide against the more insidious assaults of their dreadful enemy within, by agreeing with Joannes Paulitius, M.D., to visit the infected, on a salary of eighty pounds Scots per month.[2] In the midst of all those preparations, a large armed vessel of curious form and rigging was seen to sail up the Firth and cast anchor in Leith Roads. The vessel was pronounced by experienced seamen to be an Algerine rover, and all was consternation and dismay both in the seaport and the neighbouring capital. A detachment of the crew landed, and proceeded immediately towards Edinburgh, which they approached by the Water Gate, and passing up the Canongate demanded admission at the Nether Bow Port. The magistrates entered into parley with their leader, and offered to ransom the city on exorbitant terms, warning them at the same time of the dreadful scourge to which they would expose themselves if they entered the plague-stricken city, but all in vain.

Sir John Smith, the Provost at the time, withdrew in this dilemma to consult with the most influential citizens, who volunteered large contributions

[1] Maitland, p. 85.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 85.

towards the ransom of the town. He returned to the Nether Bow, accompanied by a body of them, among whom was his own brother-in-law, Sir William Gray, one of the wealthiest citizens of the period. Negotiations were resumed, and seemingly with more effect. A large ransom was agreed to be received, on condition that the son of the Provost should be delivered up to the leader of the pirates. It seems, however, that the Provost's only child was a daughter, who then lay stricken of the plague, of which her cousin, Egidia Gray, had recently died. This information seemed to work an immediate change on the leader of the Moors. After conference with his men, he intimated his possession of an elixir of wondrous potency, and demanded that the Provost's daughter should be entrusted to his skill; engaging, if he did not cure her, to embark immediately with his men, and free the city without ransom. After considerable parley the Provost proposed that the leader should enter the city, and take up his abode in his house; but this he peremptorily refused, rejecting at the same time all offers of higher ransom, which the distracted father was now prepared to make. Sir John Smith at length yielded to the exhortations of his friends, who urged him in so dreadful an alternative to accept the offer of the Moor. The fair invalid was borne on a litter to the house near the head of the Canongate where he had taken up his abode, and, to the astonishment and delight of her father, she was restored to him shortly afterwards safe and well.

The denouement of this singular story bears that the Moorish leader and physician proved to be Andrew Gray, who, after being captured by pirates and sold as a slave,[1] had won the favour of the Emperor of Morocco, and risen to rank and wealth in his service. He had returned to Scotland, bent on revenging his own early wrongs on the magistrates of Edinburgh, when, to his surprise, he found in the destined object of his special vengeance a relative of his own. The remainder of the tale is soon told. He married the Provost's daughter, and settled down a wealthy citizen of the Burgh of Canongate. The house to which his fair patient was borne, and whither he afterwards brought her as his bride, is still adorned with an effigy of his royal patron, the Emperor of Morocco; and the tenement has ever since

[1] Numerous references will be found in the records of the 17th century to similar slavery among the Moors. In Selections from the *Registers of the Presbytery of Lanark*, Abbotsford Club, 1839, is the following: "27th Oct. 1625.—The quilk day ane letter ressavit from the Bishope for ane contributioun to be collectit for the releaff of some folks of Queinsfarie and Kingorne, deteinet under slaverie by the Turkes at Salie." Again, in the *Minutes of the Synod of Fyfe*, printed for the same Club: "2d April 1616.—Anent the supplication proponed be Mr. Williame Wedderburne, minister at Dundee, making mentione, that whairas the Lordis of his Hienes' Privie Counsell being certanelie informed that Androw Robertson, Johne Cowie, Johne Dauling, James Pratt, and their complices, marineris, indwellaris in Leyth, being laitlie upon the coast of Barbarie, efter ane cruell and bloodie conflict, were overcome and led into captivitie be certaine merciless Turkes, who presented them to open mercatt at Argiers in Barbarie, to be sawld as slaves to the cruell barbarians," etc.

borne the name of Morocco Land. It is added that he had vowed never to enter the city but sword in hand; and having abandoned all thoughts of revenge, he kept the vow till his death, having never again passed the threshold of the Nether Bow Port. We do not pretend to guarantee this romantic legend of the burgh; all that has been aimed at is to put into a consistent whole the different versions related to us. We have had the curiosity to obtain a sight of the title-deeds of the property, which prove to be of recent date. The earliest, a disposition of 1731, so far confirms the tale that the proprietor at that date is John Gray, merchant, a descendant, it may be, of the Algerine rover and the Provost's daughter. The figure of the Moor has ever been a subject of popular admiration and wonder, and a variety of legends are told to account for its existence. Most of them, however, though differing in almost every other point, seem to agree in connecting it with the last visitation of the plague.

A little to the eastward of Morocco Land two ancient buildings, of less dimensions in every way than the more recent erections beside them, and the eastern one more especially of a singularly antique character, form striking features among the architectural elevations in the street. The latter, indeed, is one of the most noticeable relics of the olden time still remaining among the private dwellings of the burgh. It is described in the titles as that tenement of land called Oliver's Land, partly stone and partly timber; and is one of the very best specimens of this mixed style of building that now remain. The gables are finished with the earliest style of crow-step considerably ornamented. A curiously moulded dormer window, of an unusual form, rises into the roof; while on the floor below an antique timber projection is thrown out as a covered gallery, within which is a large fireplace on the external front of the stone wall, proving, as previously pointed out, that the timber work is part of the original plan of the building. The first floor is approached as usual by an outer stair, at the top of which a beautifully moulded doorway affords entrance to a stone turnpike, forming the communication to the different floors. A rich double cornice encircles this externally, and beneath it is the inscription in antique ornamental characters: SOLI · DEO · HONOR · ET · GLORIA. Owing to the protection afforded by the deep mouldings and the timber additions, this inscription has been safely preserved from injury, and remains nearly as sharp and fresh as when cut. The character of the letters corresponds with other inscriptions dating early in the sixteenth century, and the whole building is a very perfect specimen of the best class of mansions at that period. The interior, though described in the titles as having "a fore chamber and gallery, a chamber of dais," etc., has in reality accommodations only of the most limited description, each floor consisting of a moderately-sized single apartment, subdivided by such temporary wooden partitions as the convenience

of later tenants has suggested. It appears to have been the mansion of John, the second son of Lawrence, fourth Lord Oliphant, an active adherent of Queen Mary. His elder brother, who is styled Master of Oliphant, joined the Ruthven conspirators in 1582, and perished shortly afterwards, with the vessel and whole crew, when fleeing from the kingdom. The other tenement, apparently of equal antiquity and similar in style of construction, though with fewer noticeable features, adjoins it on the west. It formed at a somewhat later date the residence of Lord David Hay of Belton, to whom that barony was secured in succession by a charter granted to his father, John, second Earl of Tweeddale, in 1687. The locality, indeed, appears from the ancient deeds to have been one of honourable resort down to a comparatively recent period, as knights and men of good family occur among the occupants during the eighteenth century. The boundaries of this house are defined on the north "by the stone tenement of land some time belonging to the Earl of Angus." Only a portion of the walls of this noble dwelling now remains. It probably was the town residence of David, the eighth Earl, and brother of the Regent Morton. At the latest it must have formed the mansion of his son Archibald, ninth Earl of Angus, the last of the Douglases who bore that title. As nephew and ward of the Regent Morton he was involved in his fall. After the death of the Regent he fled to England, where he was honourably entertained by Queen Elizabeth, and became the friend and confidant of Sir Philip Sidney while writing his *Arcadia*.[1] He afterwards returned to Scotland and bore his full share in the troubles of the time. He died in 1588, the victim, as was believed, of witchcraft. Godscroft tells that Barbara Napier in Edinburgh was tried and found guilty, though she escaped execution; and "Anna Simson, a famous witch, is reported to have confessed at her death that a picture of wax was brought to her having A. D. written on it, which, as they said to her, did signify Archibald Davidson; and she, not thinking of the Earl of Angus, whose name was Archibald Douglas, and might have been called Davidson because his father's name was David, did consecrate or execrate it after her form, which she said if she had known to have represented him she would not have done it for all the world."[2] It was the fate of this old mansion of the Earls of Angus to be linked at its close in the misfortunes of a Douglas. It formed during last century the banking-house of Douglas, Heron, and Company, whose failure spread dismay through a widely-scattered circle, involving both high and low in its ruin. The Chapel of Ease in New Street, erected in 1794, now partly occupies its site. Several other interesting relics of the olden time were destroyed to make way for this ungainly ecclesiastical edifice. One of these appears from the titles to have been the residence of Henry Kinloch, a wealthy burgess of the Canongate, to whose hospitable care the French

[1] Hume of Godscroft's *History of the Douglases*, p. 362.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 432.

ambassador was consigned by Queen Mary in 1565. An old diarist of the period relates that "Vpoun Monunday the ferd day of Februar, the zeir of God foirsaid, thair come ane ambassatour out of the realm of France, callit Monsieur Rambollat, with xxxvj horse in tryne, gentilmen, throw Ingland, to Halyrudhous, quhair the King and Queenis Majesties wes for the tyme, accumpanyit with thair nobillis. And incontinent efter his lychting the said ambassatour gat presens of thair graces, and thairefter depairtit to Henrie Kynloches lugeing in the Cannogait besyid Edinburgh." A few days afterwards, "The Kingis Majestie [Lord Darnley], accumpanyit with his nobillis in Halyrudhous, ressavit the ordour of knychtheid of the cokill fra the said Rambollat with great magnificence. And the samin nycht at evin, our soueranis maid ane banket to the ambassatour foirsaid, in the auld chappell of Halyrudhous, quhilk wes reapparrellit with fyne tapestrie, and hung magnificentlie, the said lordis maid the maskery efter supper in ane honrable manner. And vpoun the ellevint day of the said moneth, the King and Quene in lyik manner bankettit the samin ambassatour; and at evin our soueranis maid the maskrie and mumschance, in the quhilk *the Queenis grace, and all her maries and ladies wer all cled in men's apperrell*; and everie ane of thame presentit ane quhingar, bravelie and maist artificiallie made and embroiderit with gold, to the said ambassatour and his gentlemen."[1] On the following day the King and Queen were entertained, along with the ambassador and his suite, at a splendid banquet provided for them in the Castle by the Earl of Mar; and on the second day thereafter Monsieur Rambollat bade adieu to the Court of Holyrood. It is to be regretted that an accurate description cannot now be obtained of the burgher mansion which was deemed a fitting residence for one whom Queen Mary delighted to honour, and for whose entertainment the Queen and her Maries enacted such unwonted masquerades. The sole memorial of it that now remains is the name of Kinloch's Close still attached to the alley running between the two ancient front lands previously described, through which the ambassador and his noble visitors must have passed.

New Street is a curious sample of a fashionable *modern* improvement, prior to the bold scheme of the New Town. It still presents the aristocratic feature of a series of detached and somewhat elegant mansions. Its last century occupants were Lord Kames—whose house is at the head of the street on the east side,—Lord Hailes, Sir Philip and Lady Betty Anstruther, and Dr. Young, a celebrated physician of the period, with others of wealth and influence, among whom may be mentioned Miss Jean Ramsay, a daughter of the poet, who lived there till a very advanced age in the second house below the chapel.

A lofty stone tenement on the south side of the main street, to the east

[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 86, 87.

of Gillon's Close, was erected by Charles, fourth Earl of Traquair, and formed the residence of his twin daughters, Lady Barbara and Lady Margaret Stewart, until their death at a very advanced age: Lady Margaret in 1791, and her sister in 1794. They must have been born very early in the eighteenth century, as Dr Archibald Pitcairn, who died in 1713, made them the subject of some elegant Latin verses. They were recalled to remembrance by Mr. C. K. Sharpe as two kindly but very precise old ladies, the amusement and main business of whose lives consisted in dressing and nursing a family of little dolls, a recreation by no means unusual among the venerable spinsters of former days. The date over the main doorway of the building is 1700. A little farther to the eastward, and almost directly opposite the head of New Street, is the Playhouse Close, within the narrow precincts of which the stage was established in 1747, on such a footing as was then deemed not only satisfactory, but highly creditable to the northern capital. It was a significant index of the change in manners and sentiment towards the middle of the eighteenth century, prior to which the drama had skulked about from place to place ever since its denouncement by the early reformers, finding even the patronage of royalty and the favour of the vice-regal court of Holyrood hardly sufficient to protect it from ignominious expulsion.

The history of the Scottish drama is one of very fitful and stinted encouragement, and of correspondingly meagre results. The first approach to regular dramatic composition, after the period when religious mysteries and moralities were enacted under the sanction of the Church,[1] was Sir David Lindsay's *Pleasant Satyre of the Three Estaitis*; and this so effectually aided the work of the reformers, under whose care the stage was immediately placed, that it might almost be styled the first and last genuine effort of dramatic genius in Scotland. It was "playit besyde Edinburgh in 1544, in presence of the Quene Regent," as is mentioned by Henry Charteris, the printer, who sat patiently for nine hours on the bank at Greenside to witness the performance. It so far surpasses any effort of contemporary English dramatists that it renders the subsequent barrenness of the Scottish muse in this department the more apparent. Birrell notes on the 17th January 1568: "A play made by Robert Semple, and played before the Regent

[1] A few extracts from the Treasurers' Accounts will afford a hint of the dawn of theatrical amusements at the Scottish Court in the reign of James IV, 1st January 1503: "Item ye samyn nycht to ye gysaris that playit to ye King, 41. 4s. Feb. 8.—To ye mene that brocht in ye Morice Dance, and to ye menstralis in Strevelin, 42s. Feb. 18.—To ye QUENE OF YE CANONGAIT, 14s." This character repeatedly occurs in the accounts, and seems to have been a favourite masker. "1504, Jan. 1.—To Hog the tale-tellar, 14s. Jan. 3.—Yat samyn day to Thos. Bosuell and Pate Sinclair to by yaim daunsing gere, 28s. Yat day to Maister Johne to by beltis for ye Morise Danse, 28s. Yat samyne nycht to ye GYSARIS OF YE TOUNE OF EDINBURGH, 8fr. cr. [French crowns.] June 10.—Payit to James Dog that he laid doune for girse one Corpus Christi day, at the play to the Kingis and Quenis chameris, 3s. 4d." etc.

[Murray] and divers uthers of the nobilitie." This has been affirmed, though on very imperfect evidence, to have been *Philotus*, a comedy printed at Edinburgh by Robert Charteris in 1603; the author of which is not named. It exhibits, both in plan and execution, a much nearer approach to the modern drama than Sir David Lindsay's *Satire*, and is altogether a work of great merit. In the same year there issued from the Edinburgh press *Darius*, a tragedy, written by "that most excellent spirit and earliest gem of our north,"[1] Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling. His tragedies, however, are dramatic only in title, and not at all adapted for the stage. James VI endeavoured to mediate between the clergy and the encouragers of the drama, and, by his royal authority, stayed for a time their opposition to theatrical representations. In the year 1592 a company of English players was licensed by the King to perform in Edinburgh; but an act of the *kirk-sessions* was forthwith published, prohibiting the people to resort to such profane amusements, as appears by the charge in the Treasurers' Accounts: "Nov. 1599.—Item, to Wm. Forsyt, messenger, passand with lettres to the mercat croce of Edn, chairging ye elderis and deacouns of the haill four sessionis of Edn, to annull thair act maid for ye discharge of certane Inglis commedianis, x s., viiij d." The King appears to have heartily espoused the cause of the players, as various later entries in the treasury accounts attest, *e.g.*: "Oct. 1599.—Item, Delyuerit to his hienes selff to be gevin to ye Inglis commeidianis xiij crownes of ye sone, at iij li. ij s. viij d. ye pece. Nov. —Item, Be his Maties directioun gevin to Sr George Elphingstoun, to be delyuerit to ye Inglis commedians, to by timber for ye preparatioun of ane hous to thair pastyme, as the said Sr George ticket beiris, xl li.;" and again a sum is paid to a royal messenger for notifying at the Cross, with sound of trumpet, "his Maties plesour to all his lieges, that ye saidis commedianis mycht vse thair playis in Edr," etc. In the year 1601 an English company of players visited Scotland, and appeared publicly at Aberdeen, headed by "Laurence Fletcher, comediane to his Majestie." The freedom of that burgh was conferred on him at the same time that it was bestowed on sundry French knights and other distinguished strangers, in whose train the players had arrived. Mr. Charles Knight, in his ingenious life of Shakespeare, shows that this is the same player whose name occurs along with that of the great English dramatist, in the patent granted by James VI, immediately after his arrival in the southern capital in 1603, in favour of the company at the Globe; and from thence he draws the conclusion that Shakespeare himself visited Scotland at this period, and sketched out the plan of his great Scottish tragedy amid the scenes of its historic events. By the same course of inference, Shakespeare's name is associated with the ancient Tennis Court at the Water Gate, as it cannot be doubted that His Majesty's players

[1] Drummond of Hawthornden's Letters, *Archæol. Scot.* vol. iv. p. 83.

made their appearance at the capital, and before the Court of Holyrood, either in going to or returning from the northern burgh, whither they had proceeded by the King's special orders; but it must be confessed the argument is a very slender one, to form the sole basis for a conclusion which we should so willingly accept on any satisfactory evidence.

The civil wars in the reign of Charles I., and the changes they led to, put an effectual stop to all theatrical representations until after the Restoration. One curious exhibition, however, is mentioned in the interval, which may be considered as a substitute for these forbidden displays. "At this tyme," says Nicoll, in 1659, "thair wes brocht to this natioun ane heigh great beast, callit ane Drummodrary, quhilk being keipit clos in the Cannogate, nane haid a sight of it without thrie pence the persone, quhilk producit much gayne to the keipar, in respect of the great numberis of pepill that resoirtit to it, for the sight thairof. It wes very big, and of great height, and clovin futted lyke unto a kow, and on the bak ane saitt, as it were a sadill, to sit on. Thair wes brocht in with it ane liytill baboun, faced lyke unto a naip."[1]

During the government of the Earl of Rothes as High Commissioner for Scotland, a play called *Marciano, or the Discovery*, by Sir Thomas Sydserff, was acted on the festival of St. John, before His Grace and his court at Holyrood;[2] and at the court of the Duke of York, at a somewhat later period, a regular company of actors was maintained, and the tennis court fitted up for their performances, in defiance of the scandal created by such innovations.[3] Lord Fountainhall notes among his *Historical Observes*,[4]—"15th Novembris 1681, being the Quean of Brittain's birthday, it was keeped by our Court at Halirudhouse with great solemnitie, such as bonfyres, shooting of canons, and the acting a comedy called *Mithridates King of Pontus*, before ther Royall Hynesses, etc., wheirin Ladie Anne, the Duke's daughter, and the Ladies of Honor ware the onlie actors. Not only the canonists, both protestant and popish," adds my Lord Fountainhall in indignant confusion of rhetoric, "but the very heathen Roman lawyers declared all scenicks and stage players infamous, and will scarce admit them to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper,"—a novel mark of disapprobation from heathen lawyers! The Revolution again banished the drama from Scotland, and we hear no more of it till the year 1714, when the play of *Macbeth* was performed at the Tennis Court in presence of a number of the Scottish nobility and gentry assembled in Edinburgh for a grand archery meeting. Party politics ran high at the time; some of the

[1] Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 226. [2] Campbell's *Journey*, vol. ii. p. 163. [3] *Vide* vol. i. p. 135.

[4] Fountainhall's *Historical Observes*, p. 51. Tytler concludes his account of the Duke's theatrical entertainment with the following inference, which would have done credit to a history of the Irish stage: "*Private* balls and concerts of music, it would seem, were now the only species of *public* entertainments amongst us!"—*Archæol. Scot.* vol. i. p. 504.

company present called for the favourite song, *May the king enjoy his ain again*,[1] while others as stoutly opposed it, and the entertainment wound up in a regular melee, anticipatory of the rebellion which speedily followed.

Allan Ramsay's unfortunate theatrical speculation has already been referred to in connection with the locality first chosen by Signora Violante, an Italian dancer and tumbler, who afterwards took the legitimate drama under her protection and management. This virago, as Arnot styles her,[2] returned to Edinburgh, "where she fitted up that house in the foot of Carruber's Close, which has since been occupied as a meeting-house by successive tribes of sectaries." Driven from this quarter at a later date, the players betook themselves to the Tailors' Hall in the Cowgate; and though mere strolling bands, they were persecuted into popularity by their opponents, until this large hall proved insufficient for their accommodation. A rival establishment was accordingly set agoing, and in the year 1746 the foundation-stone of the first regular theatre in Edinburgh was laid within the Playhouse Close, Canongate, by Mr. John Ryan, to whom Mr. Digges, an actor of high repute in his day, succeeded. Digges was a player of a type by no means rare; a well-born spendthrift of considerable ability, who had held a commission in the army under the Duke of Cumberland, and seen much of the world. He was a skilful actor in genteel comedy, and one whose conversational powers made him a favourite off the stage. In the same year in which the foundation-stone of the theatre in Playhouse Close was laid, John Home, son of Mr. Alexander Home, town-clerk of Leith, was presented to the church and parish of Athelstaneford in East Lothian, rendered vacant by the death of another poet, Robert Blair, author of *The Grave*. There Home wrote his first tragedy of *Agis, King of Sparta*, one of Plutarch's heroes, and had to endure the mortification of its rejection by Garrick as unsuited for the stage. He next selected a national subject, founded on the beautiful old ballad of Gil Morrice. To his Scottish friends the new tragedy of *Douglas* seemed a marvel of genius; and it continued to retain its popularity in our own school days as a favourite source of passages for public recitation. According to the *Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle* of 21st January 1829, Dr. Carlyle of Inveresk, Dr. Blair, and others of the author's clerical brethren, took part in a private rehearsal at the lodging in the Abbey Close occupied by Mrs. Sarah Ward, one of Mr. Digges's company. Among actors or audience at this private performance are named Hume, the historian, Professor Ferguson, Lord Elibank, Lord Milton, and two rising barristers, afterwards famous as Lord Monboddo and Lord Kames. It is even affirmed, as a scandal then first disclosed, that Dr. Blair actually assumed the part of the gentle Anna. The appearance of the minister of the High Church of Edinburgh personating even the

[1] Campbell's *History of Poetry in Scotland*, p. 353.

[2] Arnot, p. 366.

most virtuous of maidens in a tragedy was a scandalous counterpart to the scene when the Queen and her Maries offended the old reformers by taking part in a Canongate masque clad in men's apparel. On the 14th of December 1756 the tragedy of *Douglas* was at length produced to a public audience on the Edinburgh stage. It was the work of a clergyman; and though without a line in it that the most rigid censor could challenge as inconsistent with the purest virtue or patriotism, the clergy renewed their assault on the drama with redoubled zeal. Digges took the character of Douglas, Mrs. Ward that of Lady Randolph; and Mrs. Hopkins played the part which Dr. Blair is said to have filled at the rehearsal. The prologue thus appealed to the national sympathies of the audience —

> "This night our scenes no common tears demand,
> He comes the hero of your native land!
> Douglas, a name thro' all the world renown'd,
> A name that rouses like the trumpet's sound.
> Oft have your fathers, prodigal of life,
> A Douglas followed through the bloody strife;
> Hosts have been known at that dread name to yield,
> And Douglas dead, his name hath won the field."

The novelty of a clerical dramatist, and the antagonism of the more rigid members of his order, combined to give to the new tragedy all the zest of a forbidden pleasure. Home became for the time a popular hero and martyr, and the merits of his drama were proportionately exaggerated. The prologue proceeds to crave on his behalf a favourable reception for his drama —

> "Swayed by alternate hopes, alternate fears,
> He waits the test of your congenial tears.
> If they shall flow, back to the Muse he flies,
> And bids your heroes in succession rise."

The audience in the old Playhouse Close responded with ardour to the poet's appeal, fully persuaded that Shakespeare had at last found a rival, and that new "Macbeths" of native growth would thenceforth issue "in bright succession" from a Scottish manse! From Mr. C. K. Sharpe's notes we are able to recall an incident attending the original production of the tragedy. "My mother," he writes, "told me that when *Douglas* was first acted, the tune of Gil Morrice was played before the drawing up of the curtain, and most of the ladies began to weep at that, previous to the appearance of Mrs. Ward as *Lady Barnet*; for such was the name of the heroine when the play was produced." The popularity of the new drama was an additional incentment to the clergy. The wrath of the Church blazed up in intensest furor at such an innovation on the conventionalities of clerical decorum. The presbyteries returned with fresh zeal to the

assault of the drama; and although they were no longer able to chase the players from the stage, John Home, the author of the obnoxious tragedy, deemed it prudent to renounce the orders that had been tarnished by a composition so unwonted and unclerical.

The more recent history of the Edinburgh stage is characterised by no incidents of very special note until the year 1768, when it followed the tide of fashionable emigration to the New Town, and the Theatre Royal was built in the Orphan's Park,[1] which had previously been the scene of Whitfield's labours during his itinerant visits to Edinburgh. The eloquent preacher is said to have expressed his indignation in no measured terms when he found the very spot which had been so often consecrated by his ministrations thus being set apart to the very service of the devil.

The front land in the Canongate through which the archway leads into the Playhouse Close is a fine specimen of the style of building prevalent in the reign of Charles I. The dormer windows exhibit considerable variety of ornament, and a row of storm windows above them gives a singular, and indeed foreign, air to the building, corresponding in style to the steep and picturesque roofs of Strasbourg or Mayence. A Latin inscription on an ornamental tablet over the doorway within the close is now so much defaced that only a word or two can be deciphered. The building where Ryan, Digges, Bellamy, Lancashire, and a host of nameless actors figured on the stage to the admiring gaze of fashionable audiences of last century, has long since been displaced by private erections.

Nearly fronting the entrance to this close a radiated arrangement of the paving indicates the site of St. John's Cross, the ancient eastern boundary of the capital. It still marks the limit of its ecclesiastical bounds, and retains its prerogative as the place where, as in ancient times, all proclamations are announced by the Lion Heralds, and the magistrates and public bodies of the Burgh of Canongate join such processions as pass through their ancient jurisdiction in their progress to the Abbey. A little farther eastward is St. John's Close, an ancient alley bearing over an old doorway within it the inscription in bold Roman characters: THE . LORD . IS . ONLY . MY . SVPORT. Immediately adjoining this, St. John Street, a broad and handsome thoroughfare, formed the boldest scheme of civic improvement effected in Edinburgh before the completion of the North Bridge and the rival works on the south side of the town. This aristocratic

[1] So called from its vicinity to the Orphan's Hospital, a benevolent institution which obtained the high commendations of Howard and the aid of Whitfield during the repeated visits made by both to Edinburgh. A very characteristic portrait of the latter is now in the hall of the new hospital erected at the Dean. The venerable clock of the Nether Bow Port has also been transferred from the steeple of the old building to an ornate site over the pediment of the new portico, where, notwithstanding such external symptoms of renewing its youth, it still asserts its claim to the privileges and immunities of age by frequent aberrations of a very eccentric character.

quarter of last century was in progress in 1768, as appears from the date cut over a back doorway of the centre house; and soon afterwards the names of the old Scottish aristocracy that still resided in the capital—Earls, Lords, Baronets, and Lords of Session—are found among its chief occupants. Here, at No. 13, was the residence of Lord Monboddo, where Burns was a frequent guest while in Edinburgh, and recognised the "beauty, grace, and goodness" of his daughter Eliza, whose charms he celebrates in his *Address to Edinburgh*, and whose early death he thus commemorated at a later date—

> "Life ne'er exulted in so rich a prize
> As Burnet lovely from her native skies;
> Nor envious death so triumphed in a blow,
> As that which laid th' accomplished Burnet low.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "We saw thee shine in youth and beauty's pride,
> And virtue's light, that beams beyond the spheres;
> But, like the sun eclipsed at morning-tide,
> Thou left'st us darkling in a world of tears."

Within a few doors of Lord Monboddo's house, at No. 10, the old Countess of Hyndford lived and died. According to Mr. C. K. Sharpe's reminiscences, she had a long beard, which she took a pride in preserving, and "was exactly the bearded countess of Don Quixote." At a later date the same house was occupied by James Ballantyne, the partner and confidant of Sir Walter Scott in the literary adventures of the *Great Unknown*. Here was the scene of those assemblies of select and favoured guests to whom the hospitable printer read snatches of the forthcoming novel; and whetted, while he seemed to gratify, their curiosity, by many a shrewd wink and mysterious hint of confidential insight into the literary riddle of the age. The scene, indeed, has melancholy associations with the great novelist. It is a place which he often visited as an honoured guest, while yet with sanguine mind and fertile imagination he was anticipating the realisation of dreams as visionary as his most fanciful legends; but it is far more nearly allied to those mournful years when the brave man faced the sad realities of ruined hopes, and bent himself sternly to rebuild and to restore. The house at the head of the street, facing the Canongate, where James Earl of Hopetoun resided previous to 1788, is associated with another of the most eminent Scottish poets and novelists, the precursor of Scott in the popular field of romance. It is a tall land with distinct houses on its several floors, the common entrance to which is by a turnpike stair at the head of St. John Street, as shown on the plate. The first floor was the residence of Mrs. Telfer, of Scotstown, the sister of Smollett, during his second visit to his native country in 1766. Mr. C. K. Sharpe recalled some interesting reminiscences of both. Mrs. Telfer was a tall, sharp-looking dame, with a

SMOLLET'S HOUSE

St JOHN STREET. CANONGATE.

hooked nose, and devoted to whist. Mr. Sharpe's mother repeatedly met the novelist, and indeed figures among the characters incidentally referred to in his *Humphrey Clinker*. She described him as a tall handsome man, very pale. His conversation was exceedingly attractive when he was not in ill-humour. But he was full of venom at times, and bitterly sarcastic on his visitors. He was suffering from a boil on his arm, which made him very peevish. This, however, did not preclude him from sharing in the hospitalities of the time. Notwithstanding his infirm state of health, he mixed in the best society, and treasured up the graphic pictures of men and manners which he afterwards embodied in his last and best novel. The Mathew Bramble who figures there is undoubtedly meant for himself; and Jerry Melford for his nephew, Major Telfer, a son of the widow in St. John Street. The charming Miss R——n, whom the latter had the honour to dance with at the Hunters' Ball, and from whose bright eyes he sustained some damage, was a granddaughter of Susannah, the beautiful and witty Countess of Eglinton, and inheriting from her own mother the charms which Hamilton of Bangour had long before celebrated as so specially fitted "in the dance to shine." Lady Susan, the daughter of the countess, became the wife of John Renton, Esq., of Lammerton; and their daughter Eleonora —whose bright eyes still flash forth on us from the pages of *Humphrey Clinker*,—wedded Mr. Sharpe of Hoddam, and communicated to her son, Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, some of the reminiscences of an elder generation which appear in these pages. Smollett had more enduring reasons than the mere glance of bright eyes for remembering the Rentons of Lammerton. A sister of Miss Eleonora married Mr. Telfer, another nephew of the novelist, who ultimately assumed the name of Smollett on succeeding to the family estate.

At the foot of the Pleasance, and extending between that ancient thoroughfare and the valley that skirts the base of Salisbury Crags, is a rising ground called St. John's Hill, with its own interesting literary associations as the locality whither Thomas Campbell transferred his household gods in 1798, and where he continued to reside with his aged father and mother, while he wrote his *Pleasures of Hope*. The Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who succeeded to the forfeited possessions of the Templars, it is well known, held lands in almost every shire in Scotland, and claimed a jurisdiction, even within the capital, over certain tenements built on their ground, some of which, now remaining in the Grassmarket, still bear the name of Temple Lands. In the absence of all evidence on this subject, we may assume the probability of a similar proprietorship having been the source of this name. In the earliest map of Edinburgh, that of 1544, a church of large dimensions appears occupying the exact site of St. John's Hill; but this is no doubt intended for the Blackfriars' Monastery, which

stood on the opposite side of the Pleasance. It is possible that early deeds or charters may yet be discovered to throw light on this subject, for ecclesiastical ruins occupied a neighbouring height, and the Templars are believed to have had an establishment at Mount Hooly on the southern verge of St. Leonard's Hill, where Mr. Sharpe remembered a fragment of wall standing in his younger days, with the lower part of a deeply splayed and moulded window, divided by a transom; and with a small niche and sculptured basin, or stoup, projecting from its base. On trying to obtain the sculptured basin at a later date, he writes: "It was destroyed, as a brute told me, who had a hand in the work." "On the eastern side of Newington," says Maitland, "on a gentle eminence denominated *Mons Sacer* or Holy Mount, now corruptly Mount Hooly, was situate a chapel, which, from the position of the bodies buried cross-legged ways, with their swords by their sides, which were found lately in digging there, I take to have belonged to the Knights Templars." The cross-legged knights with their swords by their sides, it is to be presumed, were sculptured recumbent figures which had once adorned the Templars' tombs, and suggest features of exceptional interest in the long-vanished sacred edifice to which they pertained. It is difficult now even to fix the exact site of the church, owing to the changes effected on the whole district by the extended buildings of the town.[1]

On the north side of the Canongate, opposite to St. John Street, a lofty stone tenement named Jack's Land was the later abode of Susannah, Countess of Eglinton, where she resided in her old age, and was visited by Lady Jane Douglas, as appears in the evidence of the famous Douglas Cause. The other tenants of its numerous *flats* were doubtless of corresponding importance in the social scale;[2] but its most eminent occupant was David Hume, who removed thither from Riddle's Land, Lawnmarket, in 1753, while engaged in writing his *History of England*, and continued to reside at

[1] Maitland, p. 176.

[2] The following advertisement will probably be considered a curious illustration of the Canongate aristocracy of the period: "A negro run-away.—That on Wednesday the 10th current, an East-india negro lad eloped from a family of distinction residing in the Canongate of Edinburgh, and is supposed to have gone towards Newcastle. He is of the mulatto colour, aged betwixt sixteen and seventeen years, about five feet high, having long black hair, slender made and long limbed. He had on, when he went off, a brown cloth short coat, with brass buttons, mounted with black and yellow button holes, breeches of the same, and a yellow vest with black and yellow lace, with a brown duffle surtout coat with yellow lining, and metal buttons, gray and white marled stockings, a fine English hat with yellow lining, having a gold loop and tassle, and double gilded button. As this negro lad has carried off sundry articles of value, whoever shall receive him, so that he may be restored to the owner, on sending notice thereof to Patrick M'Dougal, writer in Edinburgh, shall be handsomely rewarded."—*Edinburgh Advertiser*, 12th March 1773. An earlier advertisement in the *Courant*, 7th March 1727, offers a reward for the apprehension of another run-away: "A negro woman, named Ann, about eighteen years of age, with a green gown, and a brass collar about her neck on which are engraved these words, 'Gustavus Brown in Dalkeith, his negro, 1726.'"

Jack's Land during the most important period of his literary career. Immediately behind this, in a court on the east side of Big Jack's Close, there existed till a few years since some remains of the town mansion of General Dalziel, commander of the forces in Scotland during most of the reign of Charles II, and the merciless persecutor of the outlawed Presbyterians. The General's dwelling is described by Dr. Robert Chambers, in the *Minor Antiquities*,[1] as "one of the meanest-looking buildings ever, perhaps, inhabited by a gentleman." In this, however, the author was deceived by the humble appearance of the small portion that then remained. There is no reason to believe that the stern *Muscovite*,—as he was styled from serving under the Russian Czar during the protectorate—tempered his cruelties by any such Spartan-like self-denial. The General's residence, on the contrary, appears to have done full credit to a courtier of the Restoration. We owe the description of it, as it existed about the beginning of the present century, to a zealous antiquary[2] who was born there in 1787, and resided in the house for many years. He has often conversed with another of its tenants who remembered being taken to Holyrood when a child to see Prince Charles on his arrival at the palace of his forefathers. The chief apartment was a hall of unusually large dimensions, with an arched or waggon-shaped ceiling adorned with a painting of the sun in the centre, surrounded by gilded rays on an azure ground. The remainder of the ceiling was painted to represent sky and clouds, and spangled over with a series of silvered stars in relief. The large windows were closed below with carved oaken shutters, similar in style to the fine specimen still remaining in Riddle's Close, and the same kind of windows existed in other parts of the building. The kitchen also was worthy of notice for a fireplace, formed of a plain circular arch, of such unusual dimensions that popular credulity might have assigned it for the perpetration of those rites it had ascribed to him, of spitting and roasting his miserable captives![3] Our informant was told by an intelligent old man, who had resided in the house for many years, that a chapel formerly stood on the site of the open court, but all traces of it were removed in 1779. It is not at all inconsistent with the character of the fierce old Cavalier that he should have erected a private chapel for his own use. Death fortunately stepped in, says his fellow-soldier, Captain Crichton, in allusion to the dilemma in which the General was placed on the accession of James VII, and "rescued him from the difficulties he was likely to be under, between the notions he had of duty to his prince on one side, and *true zeal for his religion* on the other."[4] The main idea that seems to have guided him through life was an unquestioning loyalty. He allowed his

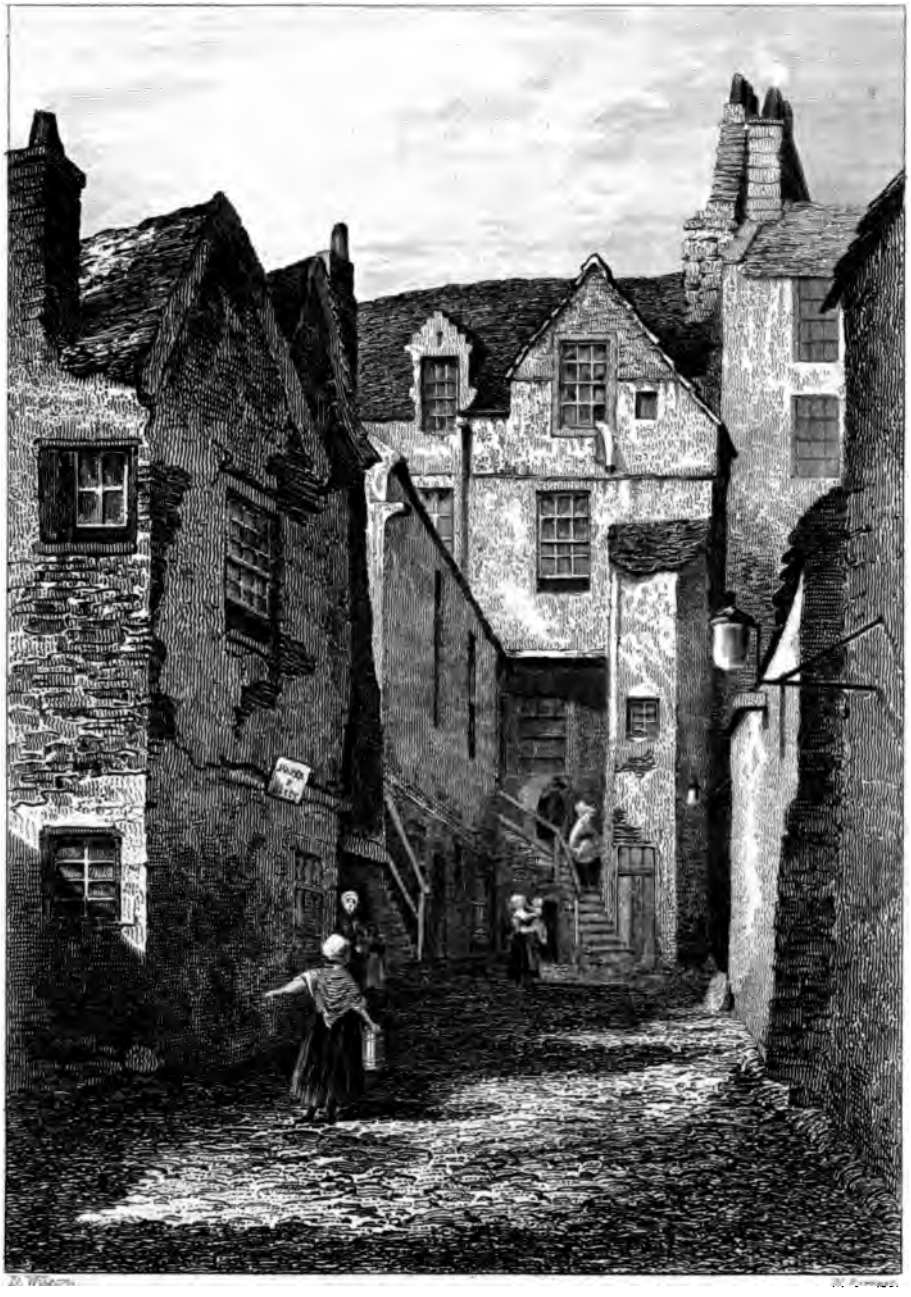
[1] *Minor Antiquities of Edinburgh*, p. 230. [2] Mr. Wm. Rowan, librarian, New College.
[3] Fountainhall's *Decisions*, vol. i. p. 159; Burnet's *History of his Own Times*, vol. i. p. 334.
[4] *Memoirs of Captain Crichton*, Swift's Works, London 1803, vol. xiv. p. 318.

beard to grow, as a manifestation of his grief on the beheading of King Charles, and retained it unaltered till his death, though it latterly acquired a venerable amplitude that attracted a crowd whenever he appeared in public. The early history of chivalry furnishes many examples in proof of the perfect compatibility of such devoted loyalty with the cruelties which have rendered his name infamous to posterity.

The Shoemakers' Lands, which stand to the east of Jack's Land, are equally lofty and more picturesque buildings. One of them especially, immediately opposite to Moray House, is a striking object in the stately range of substantial stone tenements that extend from New Street to the Canongate Tolbooth. A highly-adorned tablet surmounts the main entrance, enriched with angels' heads and a border of Elizabethan ornament enclosing the Shoemakers' Arms with the date 1677. An open book is inscribed with the first verse of the metrical version of the 133d Psalm: a motto that appears to have been in special repute towards the close of the seventeenth century among the suburban corporations, as it is also inscribed over the Tailors' Hall of Easter Portsburgh and the Shoemakers' Land in the West Port. The turnpike stair rises above the main building crowned with an ogee roof of singular character, and flanked on either side by picturesque gables. Over the entrance to this stair the same favourite piece of psalmody is repeated, with the further inscription in smaller letters, IT IS AN HONOUR FOR MAN TO CEASE FROM STRIFE. The arms of the Cordiners reappear on one of the two tenements to the west of this at the head of Shoemakers' Close, on an ornate panel with the date 1725, and another moral aphorism borrowed from the metre psalms—

BLESSED IS HE THAT WISELY DO
TH THE POOR MAN'S CASE CONSIDER.

The hall of the once wealthy Corporation of Cordiners or Shoemakers of Canongate, to whom this property belonged, stood on the west side of Little Jack's Close, adorned with the insignia of the souters' craft, and furnished for the convivial meetings of the fraternity with huge oaken tables and chairs, and a substantial carved throne adorned with the arms of the craft: a paring knife surmounted by a crown, and the date 1682. This was in special requisition for the inauguration of King Crispin on the 25th of October, or St. Crispin's Day. It was long the annual custom of the craft to elect a king, who was borne through the town attended by his subjects, dressed in all sorts of fantastic and showy attire: to the great delight, as our own juvenile recollections testify, of many a youthful sightseer. The gala-day attracted visitors from the surrounding villages, and when the procession returned to its rendezvous, King Crispin held his court at the Corporation Hall and celebrated his coronation with royal festivities. An



REID'S CLOSE.

CANONGATE.

obituary notice of William Sawers, bootmaker, who "was King at the memorable Crispin procession of 1820," occurs in the *Scotsman* of 23d January 1847, from which it appears that the frolickers of the Canongate at so recent a date rivalled in their audacity the license of the Abbot of Unreason, when the mediæval mummers selected cathedrals and abbey churches as the scenes of their wildest saturnalia. There is little doubt that this sport was a relic of early times when the Cordiners of the neighbouring capital, incorporated in the year 1449, made their annual procession on the anniversary of their patron saint to the altar of St. Crispin and St. Crispinian, founded and maintained by them in the Collegiate Church of St. Giles.[1] A notice of the Cordiners of Canongate in the burgh registers of 1574 records the election of William Quhite as their deacon, in room of "Umquhill Andro Purves." They too, doubtless, had their altar and priest in the Abbey Church; and so reviving their ancient rights, we learn that William Sawers, King Crispin for the year, "was crowned in the picture gallery of Holyrood Palace on the 25th October 1820, when his princely and majestic appearance delighted all who had the pleasure of seeing him walk up the High Street in kingly attire." The Black Prince—a Moorish masker, possibly suggested by the old traditions of the Morocco Land,—and his sable Princess were essential characters in the pageant. Mrs. Malcolm, an old dame of a particularly shrewish disposition, who inhabited an attic in the Shoemakers' Land towards the close of last century, had figured in the latter character in her youth; and retained to the last the sobriquet of *The Princess*. King Crispin also had his royal consort, perpetuating to our own day a traditional remembrance of the *Queen of the Canongate* mentioned in the Treasury Accounts of James IV. Unhappily for the Cordiners of the Canongate, the sumptuary laws of old Scottish Parliaments were not framed to curb the excesses of *cobbler kings*. King Crispin and his train grew more extravagant every year. He latterly rode in this fantastic annual pageant in ermined robes, attended by prince, premier, champion in armour, and courtiers of all degrees, mounted on horseback and decked in the most gaudy costumes they could procure, until the whole wealth and property of the corporation were dissipated in this childish foolery, and King Crispin retired to private life and the humbler relaxation of cobbling shoes.

The Canongate Tolbooth—a view of which heads this chapter,—has long been a favourite subject for the artist's pencil, as one of the most picturesque edifices of the Old Town. It forms the court-house of the burgh, erected in the reign of James VI soon after the abolition of religious houses had left this ancient dependency of the Abbey free to govern itself; and latterly it included the burgh gaol. But even under King James, Adam Bothwell, the commendator of Holyrood, retained some portion of the ancient

[1] Maitland, p. 305.

rights of his mitred predecessors over the burgh. The present structure is the successor of a much earlier building, probably on the same site. The date on the tower is 1591 ; and preparations for its erection appear in the Burgh Register seven years before, when it is enacted that no remission of fees shall be granted to any one, "unto the tyme the tolbuith of this burch be edefeit and biggit."[1] Nevertheless we find by the Burgh Registers for 1561, "Curia capitalis burgi vici canonicorum Monasterii Sancte Crucis prope Edinburgh, *tenta in pretorio ejusdem*"; and frequent references occur to the *tolbuith* in the Registers and in the Treasurer's Accounts, *e.g.* 1574, "To sax pynouris att the bailleis command for taking doun of the lintall stane of the auld tolbuith windo, iiijs. vjd." The very next entry is a fee "to ane new pyper," an official of the burgh of whom various notices are found at this early period.

The *Hotel de Ville* of this ancient burgh is surmounted by a tower and spire, flanked by two turrets in front, from between which a clock of large dimensions projects into the street. This formerly rested on curiously carved oaken beams, which appear in Storer's views published in 1818, but they have since been replaced by plain cast-iron supports. The building is otherwise adorned with a variety of mottoes and sculptured devices in the style that prevailed at the date of its erection. Between the windows of the first and second floor of the tower an ornamental sun-dial appears, and underneath the lower window a carved tablet bears this inscription with the abbreviations, which have been conjecturally rendered: SENATUS LOCUS BURGHI—

☞ S. L. B.

PATRIÆ ET POSTERIS, 1591.

There are two bells in the tower, the oldest of which has this favourite motto, with the date cast on it: SOLI DEO HONOR ET GLORIA, 1608. The larger bell, as appears from its inscription, was cast in 1796. Over the inner doorway are the appropriate words: ESTO FIDUS; and on the most conspicuous part of the edifice, between the large windows of the council hall, a highly ornamental panel surmounted by a pediment adorned with a large thistle bears the legend: J. R. 6. JUSTITIA ET PIETAS VALIDE SUNT PRINCIPIS ARCES. Within the panel are emblazoned the burgh arms, viz., a stag's head with a cross between the tynes, in commemoration of the monastic legend to which the origin of the Abbey of the Holy Rood and its burgh is referred. Underneath is the motto, SIC ITUR AD ASTRA: an unfailing subject of mirth to the profane wits of the capital, as the avowal of the burgher vassals of the Church that they seek the way to heaven through the burgh jail.

The independence of the burgh of Canongate was of brief duration. The

[1] *Canongate Burgh Register*, 13th October 1584; *Mait. Misc.* vol. ii. p. 353.

magistrates of Edinburgh purchased the superiority of it from the Earl of Roxburghe, and soon after procured a charter of confirmation from Charles I. in 1636. But it is still governed by its own magistrates and a baron bailie elected by the Edinburgh Town Council, who thus come in the place of the Abbot of Holyrood as its over-lords. Those hold weekly courts for the punishment of petty offenders, and the settlement of disputed questions on small debts; and in general exercise control over the public affairs of the burgh.

St. John's Cross.

The ancient market cross formerly stood nearly opposite to the Tolbooth. It is represented in Gordon's map as mounted on a stone gallery somewhat similar to that of the neighbouring capital, though on a smaller scale. This has long since disappeared, but the elegant cross represented in the accompanying vignette still exists attached to the south-east corner of the Tolbooth. Its chief use in latter times was as the pillory; and the iron staple remains to which the culprit used to be secured by an iron collar round the neck, styled *the Jougs*; a species of punishment which continued in use within the recollection of some of our older citizens.[1]

Moray House, which is one of the most remarkable objects of interest in the Canongate, formed until 1835 part of the entailed estate of the noble house of Moray, in whose possession it remained exactly two hundred years, having become the property of Margaret Countess of Moray in 1645, by an arrangement with her younger sister Anne, then Countess of Lauderdale, and co-heiress with her of their mother the Countess of Home, by whom Moray House was built.[2] This noble mansion presents more striking architectural features than any other private building in Edinburgh, and is

[1] "31st October 1567. The quhilk daye Bessie Tailzefeir being accusit be the bailleis and counsall of the sclandring of Thos. Huntar, baillie, . . . thairfoir ordanit the said Bessie to be brankit the morne and set upone the croce of this bruche thair to remane the space of ane houre." On the 6th October 1572 the treasurer is ordered "to vpput and big sufficiently the corce," which had probably suffered in some of the reforming mobs.—Canongate Burgh Register, *Mait. Misc.* vol. ii. pp. 303, 326.

[2] The entail was broken by a clause in one of the acts of the North British Railway Company. They had acquired the ancient Collegiate Church and Trinity Hospital for their terminus, and proposed to fit up Moray House instead of the latter—an arrangement which it is to be regretted was not carried into effect. The name of *Regent Murray's House*, latterly applied to the old mansion, is a spurious tradition of recent origin. Its most common title about the beginning of the present century was *The Linen Hall*, from its having been long occupied by the British Linen Company, now the wealthiest banking company in Scotland.

associated with some very memorable events in Scottish history. It was erected in the early part of the reign of Charles I. by Mary Countess of Home, the eldest daughter of Edward, Lord Dudley, then a widow. Her initials, M. H., are sculptured over the large centre window of the south gable surmounted by a coronet; and over the corresponding window to the north are the widowed Countess's arms, the lions of Home and Dudley impaled on a lozenge. The house was erected some years before the visit of Charles I. to Scotland, and his coronation at Holyrood, in 1633, and was therefore in all probability graced by the presence of that unfortunate monarch; though the Countess soon after contributed largely towards the success of his opponents, as appears by the repayment by the English Parliament in 1644 of seventy thousand pounds which had been advanced by her to the Scottish Covenanting government: an unusually large sum to be found at the disposal of the dowager of a Scottish earl.

On the first visit of Oliver Cromwell to Edinburgh in the summer of 1648 he took up his residence at "the Lady Home's lodging in the Canongate," as it then continued to be called, and entered into friendly negotiations with the nobles and leaders of the extreme party of the Covenanters. According to Guthrie, "he did communicate to them his design in reference to the king and had their assent thereto,"[1] in consequence of which "the Lady Home's house became an object of mysterious curiosity, from the general report at the time that the design to execute Charles I. was there first discussed and approved."[2] This, however, which, if it could be relied on, would add so peculiar an interest to the mansion, must be regarded as the mere Cavalier gossip of the period. Even if we could believe that Cromwell's designs were matured at that time, he was too wary a politician to hazard them by such premature and profitless confidence; but there can be no doubt that the mode of dealing with the king must in some shape or other have formed a prominent subject in their discussions.

Only two years after the Parliamentary General's residence in the Canongate, the fine old mansion was the scene of joyous banquetings and revelry on the occasion of the marriage of Lord Lorn—better known as the unfortunate Earl of Argyle,—to Lady Mary Stuart, the eldest daughter of the Earl of Moray. The wedding-feast took place on the 13th of May 1650, and the friends were still celebrating the alliance of these two noble families, when on Saturday the 18th of May the already excommunicated and doomed Marquis of Montrose was brought a captive to Edinburgh. About four o'clock in the afternoon the magistrates and guard received their prisoner at the Water Gate, and after reading to him his barbarous sentence, he was ignominiously bound to a low cart provided for the occasion. The common hangman, who acted as master of the ceremonies, having uncovered the

[1] Guthrie's *Memoirs*, p. 298. [2] Napier's *Life of Montrose*, p. 441.

Marquis, he mounted the horse before him, and the melancholy procession moved slowly up the Canongate, a band of meaner prisoners bound two and two going in front bareheaded. The contrast presented by this scene is painfully illustrative of the vicissitudes that accompany civil war. Montrose had defeated his great rival the Marquis of Argyle, father of the young Lord Lorn, and had driven him almost a solitary fugitive to the sea, while he wasted his country with fire and sword. As the noble captive passed beneath the windows of Moray House, the wedding guests, including the Earl of Loudoun, then Lord Chancellor, Lord Warriston, and the Countess of Haddington, along with the Marquis of Argyle, and the bride and bridegroom,[1] stepped out on the fine old stone balcony that overhangs the street to gaze upon their prostrate enemy. It is said that the Lady Jane Gordon, Countess of Haddington, Argyle's niece, so far forgot her sex as to spit upon him as he passed, in revengeful triumph over their fallen foe. But the marriage party quailed before the calm gaze of the noble captive. Though suffering from severe wounds in addition to the mortification and insult to which he was exposed, he preserved the same composure and serenity with which he afterwards submitted to a felon's death, appearing even on the scaffold—as Nicoll relates,—in a style "more becoming a bridegroom nor a criminal going to the gallows."[2] On Montrose turning his eyes on the party assembled on the balcony at Moray House, they shrank back with hasty discomposure and disappeared from the windows, leaving the gloomy procession to wend its way to the Tolbooth.[3] This incident acquires a deeper interest from the fact that three of the onlookers, including the gay young bridegroom, perished by the hand of the executioner on the same fatal spot to which the gallant Marquis was passing under their gaze.

The period of which we write was one of rapid change. Little more than four months elapsed when the army of the Covenanters, with Leslie at its head, was signally defeated at Dunbar; and Cromwell, returning to the Scottish capital as a conqueror, once more took up his quarters at Moray House. Throughout the winter of 1650 its stately halls were crowded with Parliamentary commissioners and military and civil courtiers attendant on the General's levee.[4] Its next occupant of note was the Lord Chancellor Seafield, who appears to have resided there at the period of the Union, and gave to its historic halls new associations, as the scene of numerous secret deliberations that preceded the ratification of that treaty. The fine old terraced garden remains nearly in the same state as when the peers and

[1] "It was reported that in 1650, when the Marquis of Montrose was brought up prisoner from the Water Gate in a cart, this Argile was feeding his eyes with the sight in the Lady Murrayes balcony in the Canongate with hir daughter, his lady, to whom he was new married, and that he was seen playing and smiling with her."—Fountainhall's *Historical Observes*, 1685, p. 185.

[2] Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 13.

[3] Wigton Papers, *Mait. Misc.* vol. ii. pp. 432, 483.

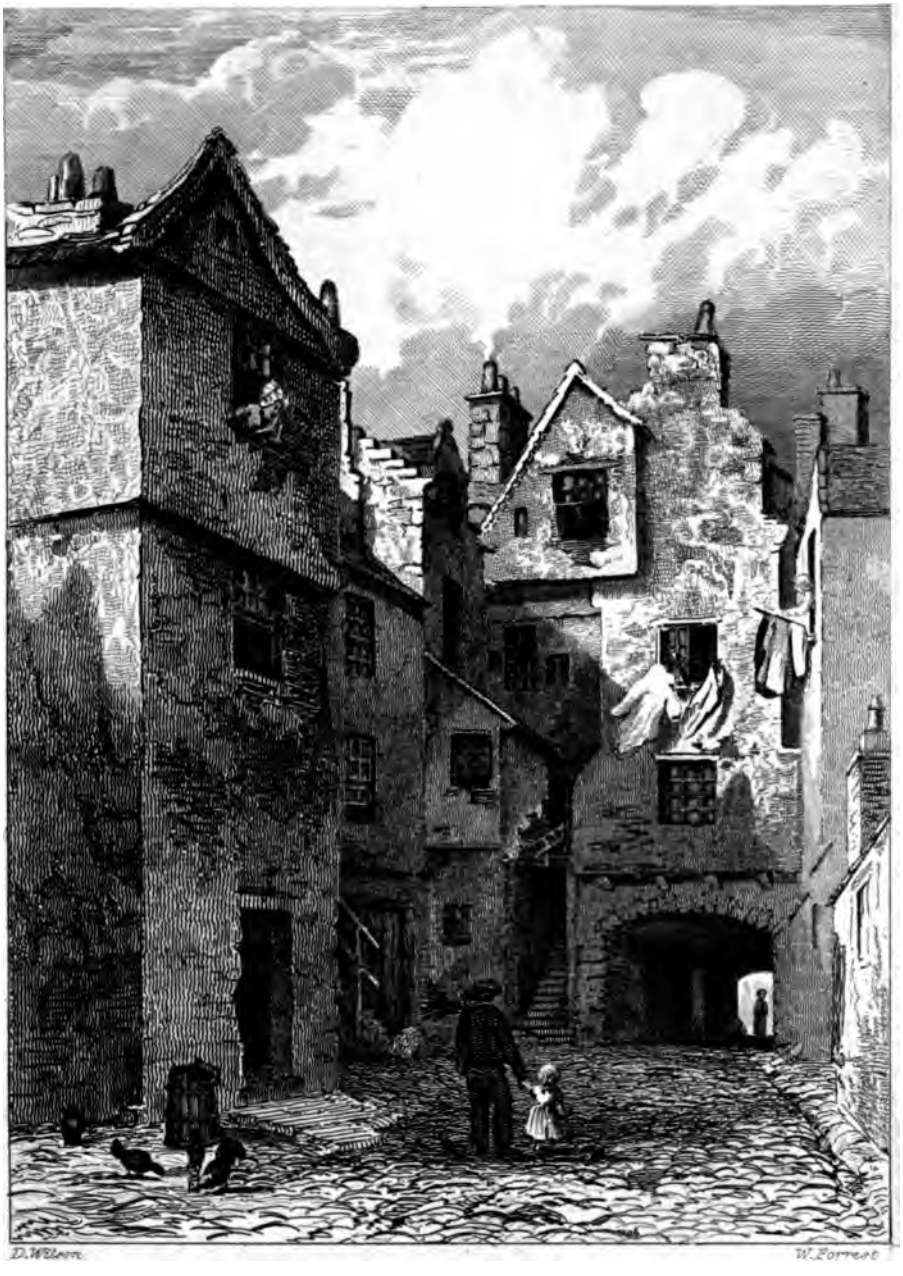
[4] *Ante*, vol. i. p. 125.

commoners of the last Scottish Parliament frequented its avenues. The picturesque summer-house, adorned with quaint old lions, from which the Unionists are said to have been scared while signing some of their preliminary treaties, is still there. The upper terrace is shaded by a magnificent thorn tree, which appears to be much older than the house; on the second terrace a curious arbour has been constructed by the interlacing stems of trees, twisted into the fantastic forms in which our ancestors delighted; and on the lowest terrace a fine fountain is guarded by the marble statue of a fisher, with his basket at his feet filled with the mimic spoils of the rod and line. The fine large garden has a southern aspect, and both it and the house might still afford no unsuitable accommodation to the proudest Earl in the Scottish Peerage.

Directly opposite to the old Tolbooth, and not far removed from the stately mansion of the Earls of Moray, is an antique fabric of a singularly picturesque character, associated with the name of one of the adversaries of that noble house: George, first Marquis of Huntly, who murdered the Bonny Earl of Moray in 1591. The evidence, indeed, is not complete which assigns this as the dwelling of the first Marquis, but it is rendered exceedingly probable from the fact that his residence was in the Canongate, and that this fine old mansion was occupied at a later period by his descendants. In June 1636 he was carried from his lodging in the Canongate, with the hope of reaching his northern territories before his death, but he got no farther than Dundee, where he died in his seventy-fourth year.[1] The same noble lodging was the abode of the unfortunate Marquis who succeeded to his father's title. In 1639 it was the scene of special festivity, on the occasion of the marriage of his eldest daughter, Lady Ann, to the Lord Drummond, afterwards third Earl of Perth, "who was ane precise puritane, and therfore weill lyked in Edinburgh."[2] Only ten years later, in 1649, the noble Marquis who then gave away the bride to her Puritan lover perished on the block at the Cross of Edinburgh. The house was occupied when Maitland wrote by the Duchess Dowager of Gordon; and through a misinterpretation of evidence given by some of the witnesses concerned in the murder of Darnley in 1567, he pronounces it to have been the Mint Office of Scotland at that earlier period. If the date on the building, which is 1570, be that of its erection, it settles the question. But, at any rate, an examination of the evidence referred to leaves no doubt that the Mint was situated at the period in the outer court of the Palace of Holyrood,[3]

[1] Spalding's *History of the Troubles*, vol. i. p. 42. [2] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 177.

[3] "Incontinent the Erle [Bothwell] French Paris, William Powry, servitor and porter to the said Erle, Pat. Wilsoun, and the deponar, geid down the turnpike altogidder, and endlong the back of the Queenis garden *quhill zow cum to the Cunzie-Hous*, and the back of the stabilis [seemingly what is now called the Horse Wynd], quhill zow cum to the Cannongate foreanent the Abbey zet."—Deposition of George Dalgleish, *Crim. Trials*, Supp. p. 495.



MANSION OF GEORGE. 1ST MARQUIS OF HUNTLY.

BAKEHOUSE CLOSE. CANONGATE.

though this has not prevented the historian being followed, as usual, without investigation by later writers. We have engraved a view of this curious old mansion as it appears from the Bakehouse Close. It presents an exceedingly picturesque row of timber-fronted gables to the street, resting on a range of ornamental corbels projecting from the stone basement story. A series of sculptured tablets adorn the front of the building, containing pious aphorisms, in a style differing from those so frequently introduced on the buildings of the sixteenth century. On one is inscribed: CONSTANTI PECTORI RES MORTALIVM VMBRA; on another: UT TU LINGVÆ TVÆ, SIC EGO MEAR: AVRIUM DOMINVS SVM; and on the third the favourite old distich: HODIE MIHI CRAS TIBI CUR IGITUR CURAS, with the date 1570. On an upright tablet at the west end is an ingenious emblem of the resurrection: a cluster of wheat-stalks in ear, growing out of a heap of human bones, designed as an allegorical rendering of St. Paul's beautiful imagery: "That which thou sowest is not quickened except it die; and that which thou sowest thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain. But God giveth it a body as it hath pleased him; and to every seed its own body." The repetition of this sculptured emblem on Gourlay's mansion in the Old Bank Close has already been referred to. There it was accompanied with the appropriate motto, SPES ALTERA VITÆ.

The very diverse style of the later era after the union of the crowns is seen in an ornate mansion on the east side of the Bakehouse or Hammermen's Close. An ornamental archway, with pendent keystone, in the fashion prevalent towards the close of James the Sixth's reign, forms the entrance to a small enclosed court, surrounded on three sides by the residence of Sir Archibald Acheson of Glencairney, one of the Lords of Session appointed soon after the accession of Charles I. He was created by the King a Baronet of Nova Scotia in 1628, and was afterwards appointed one of the Secretaries of State for Scotland. The little quadrangle is finished throughout with considerable architectural taste. Over the pediment above the main entrance the Baronet's crest, a Cock standing on a Trumpet, is cut in bold relief; and below the motto *vigilantibus*, with a cypher containing the letters A. M. H., the initials of Sir Archibald Acheson and Dame Margaret Hamilton, his wife. The date on the building is 1633, the year in which Charles I. paid his first visit to his native capital. The building is a handsome structure in the style of the period; though a curious proof of the rude state in which the mechanical arts remained at that date is afforded by the square hole still visible at the side of the main doorway, wherein an oaken bar slid out and in for securely fastening the door. The three sides of the court are ornamented with dormer windows, containing the initials of the builder and those of his wife, with other characteristic architectural decorations.

The range of houses to the eastward still includes many of an early date, and some associated with names once prominent in Scottish story. Milton House, a handsome large mansion built in the somewhat heavy style prevalent during the eighteenth century, derives its name from Andrew Fletcher of Milton, Lord Justice-Clerk of Scotland, who succeeded the celebrated Lord Fountainhall on the bench in the year 1724, and continued to preside as a judge of the Court of Session till his death in 1766. He was much esteemed for the mild and forbearing manner with which he exercised his authority as Lord Justice-Clerk after the rebellion of 1745. He sternly discouraged all informers; and many communications which he suspected to have been sent by over-officious and malignant persons were found in his repositories after his death, unopened.[1] He was a nephew of the patriotic Fletcher of Salton, and an intimate friend and coadjutor of Archibald, Duke of Argyle, during whose administration he exercised a wise and beneficial control over the Government patronage in Scotland. The old mansion which thus formed the scene of court levees, where Hanoverian and Jacobite candidates for royal favour elbowed one another in the chase, still retains unequivocal marks of its former grandeur, notwithstanding the many strange tenants who have since occupied it. The drawing-room to the south, the windows of which command a beautiful view of Salisbury Crags and St. Leonard's Hill, has its walls very tastefully decorated with a series of designs of landscapes and allegorical figures, with rich borders of fruit and flowers, painted in distemper. They are executed with great spirit, and from the style of the landscapes more especially we feel little hesitation in ascribing the whole to the pencil of Francesco Zuccherelli, who had a high reputation in England during the earlier part of the eighteenth century. There are various grotesque figures interspersed among the ornamental borders, which have the appearance of being copies from some illuminated manuscript of the fourteenth century. These represent a cardinal, a monk, a priest, and other churchmen, painted with great spirit and extreme drollery of attitude and expression. They so entirely differ from the general character of the composition that their insertion may be conjectured to have originated in a whim of Lord Milton, which the artist has contrived to execute without sacrificing the harmony of his design. An elegant cornice, finished with painting and gilding, and a richly stuccoed ceiling, complete the decorations of this fine apartment.

The house was occupied for a time as a Roman Catholic School under the care of the Sisterhood of St. Margaret's Convent. The pupils particularly attracted the attention of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, on her visit to the capital in 1842, as they strewed flowers in her path on her approach from the palace of her ancestors by the ancient royal thoroughfare of the

[1] Brunton and Haig's *Senators of the College of Justice*, p. 499.

Canongate. It has since been used as a Deaf and Dumb School, and is now appropriated to the benevolent objects of the Royal Maternity Hospital.

Prior to the erection of Milton House the fine open grounds which surround it, with the site on which it is built, formed a beautiful garden attached to the mansion of the Earl of Roxburghe. Lord Fountainhall reports a dispute in 1694 between the Trades of Canongate and the Earl, in which the Lords declared his house in the Canongate free, and himself empowered, by right of certain clauses in a contract between the Earl, the Town of Edinburgh, and Heriot's Hospital, to employ artificers on his house who were not freemen of the burgh.[1] Such contentions, originating in the jealousy of the corporations of the Canongate, were of frequent occurrence at the period, and show with how despotic a spirit the incorporated trades unions of that elder time were prepared to guard their exclusive rights. Roxburghe House appears, from Edgar's map, to have stood on the west side of the garden. It was afterwards occupied by John, fifth Earl, the brother of the builder, who took an active share in promoting the Union ; and was doubtless the scene both of hospitable gatherings and confidential deliberations during the memorable transactions of 1705 and subsequent years, until the final ratification of the articles of Union by the Scottish Estates on the 16th of January 1707. Gifts and honours were liberally distributed to secure the passing of the desired measure ; and soon after the Earl of Roxburghe was elevated to a dukedom in the British Peerage, and successively filled the offices of Keeper of the Privy Seal and Secretary of State for Scotland.

At the head of Reid's Close stands the picturesque stone tenement designated in the accompanying engraving Nisbet of Dirleton's house, which appears by the date on it to have been erected in the year 1624. Its basement story is substantially arched with stone in accordance with the fashion of that age, when a citizen's mansion had occasionally to be made his castle in a very different sense from that which is now maintained as the theory of British law. This edifice, which was probably reared by some courtier of note and influence at that period, afterwards became the residence of Sir John Nisbet, who was promoted to the bench in 1664 under the title of Lord Dirleton, and was the last who held the office of Lord Advocate conjointly with that of a judge. He was the predecessor of Sir George Mackenzie as Lord Advocate, and is accused, both by Kirkton and Wodrow, of making himself the tool of the bishops. The latter relates a curious instance of his zeal in persecuting the unfortunate Covenanters. Robert Gray having been brought before the Council, and examined as to his knowledge of the hiding-places of some of the leaders of that party, without their succeeding in obtaining from him the desired information, Sir John took a ring from the man's finger and sent it to Mrs. Gray by a trusty

[1] Fountainhall's *Decisions*, vol. i. p. 614.

messenger, who informed her that her husband had told all he knew of the Whigs, and that he sent this ring to her in token that she might do the same. Deceived by this ingenious fraud the poor woman revealed their places of concealment; and her husband was so affected by this betrayal of his friends that he sickened and died a few days after. The south front of the house appears in the engraving of Reid's Close, and is singularly picturesque and somewhat unique in its character.

On the south side of the Canongate, as we approach the Water Gate, a formal unornate building of proportions seemingly beyond the requirements of any family, however large its household and staff, has been known for nearly two centuries through the extremest vicissitudes of fortune as Queensberry House. It appears, however, from a note of Lord Fountainhall—omitted like many other curious memoranda of the old judge from the printed folios,—that it was built by the celebrated Lord Halton, afterwards Earl of Lauderdale. A dispute like that already referred to between the Earl of Roxburghe and the incorporated tradesmen of the burgh discloses the old mansion while in process of building. On the 2d June 1681 Lord Halton laid a complaint before the Privy Council, in which he states that he is then building a lodging for himself in the Canongate; and having employed some country masons, the craftsmen of the burgh assaulted them and carried off their tools. In the evidence it is shown that a free burgess of the capital dared not encroach beyond its bounds to practise his craft within the burgh of Canongate; and that in 1671 the Privy Council subjected David Pringle, chirurgeon, to a fine for employing one Wood, an unfree barber, "to poll the children's heads in Heriot's Hospital"! Nevertheless Lord Halton had influence enough to secure the right of employing what workmen he pleased; though the craftsmen were adjudged to have had warrant for their interference, and so were freed from the charge of rioting.[1] Possibly, however, the craftsmen were a match for my lord, like the unionists and ratteners of later days. At any rate, we learn from an entry by Lord Fountainhall of 21st June 1686, "By a letter from His Majesty, Queensberry is laid asyde from all his places and offices, as his place in the Treasurie, Privy Council, Session, etc., and desired not to goe out of toune till he cleared his accounts. So he bought Lauderdale's house in the Canongate."

William, first Duke of Queensberry, the builder of Drumlanrig Castle, who exercised almost absolute power in Scotland during the latter years of the reign of Charles II, and presided as high commissioner in the first parliament of James VII, had a passion for building; and under his care the Canongate mansion was completed as the ducal lodging. "He was my great-grandmother's uncle," writes Mr. C. K. Sharpe in a marginal note, "and of him I have heard much. He was a strange original and boggled at nothing in his

[1] Fountainhall's *Decisions*, vol. i. pp. 138, 139.

Drawn by J. Wilson. Engraved by J. Stewart.

NISBET OF DIRLETON S HOUSE

CANONGATE.

courtly advances but popery. That split him with King James,"—and hence his dismissal from place and office in 1686. He afterwards took an active share in the revolution that placed the Prince of Orange on the throne: a step which did not suffice to redeem him from the hatred of the Presbyterian party, against whom his power had been used in a cruel and arbitrary manner. He died in the Canongate in 1695. His character was made up of the strangest contradictions: a great miser, yet magnificent in buildings and pleasure grounds; illiterate, yet a collector of books, and commanding in his letters, which he dictated to a secretary, a style that is admirable.[1] His son, the active promoter of the Union, and the lord high commissioner under whose auspices it was accomplished, kept court in Queensberry House during that stormy period, and frequently found it surrounded by the infuriated mob who so pertinaciously pursued every abettor of that hated measure.[2] But the most eminent occupants of Queensberry House are Charles, the third Duke, who was born there in 1698, and his celebrated Duchess, Lady Catherine Hyde, the patroness of the poet Gay, and the beauty of the court of George I, whose sprightliness and wit have been commemorated in the numbers of Pope, Swift, and Prior; and whom Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, celebrated in her old age as

"Prior's Kitty, ever fair!"

The eccentric beauty espoused the cause of Gay with such warmth that on the Lord Chamberlain refusing to sanction the representation of *Polly*, a piece intended as a continuation of the *Beggar's Opera*, she received him into her house as her private secretary, and in other ways manifested a regard for the poet as sincere as it was lasting. He had already held a similar office in the household of the Duchess of Monmouth; but the duties must have been mainly nominal, for the poet was indolent, irresolute, gay in habits as in name, and equally enamoured of fine clothes and good living. With the aggrieved poet as her protege, the clever eccentric beauty, accompanied by the Duke, withdrew in high dudgeon from Court and took up their abode at Queensberry House in the Canongate. The poet's subsequent intercourse with the author of *The Gentle Shepherd* has already been referred to, as well as his frequent visits to the poet's shop at the Cross.[3] We furnish a view of

[1] A collection of his letters were in the possession of C. K. Sharpe, Esq. He entertained the idea of publishing them. It is to be hoped this may yet be carried out, though his own notes and reminiscences would have added to their value as a curious acquisition to the literary world.

[2] A mysterious and horrible story is related in the *Traditions of Edinburgh* concerning the duke's eldest son, Lord Drumlanrig, an idiot, who being deserted by his keeper on the day the Union was passed—the whole household having gone off with the exception of a little kitchen boy—escaped from his confinement, murdered the boy, and was found roasting him at the fire when the domestics returned in triumph from the Parliament Close. The dreadful tale soon became known, and it was universally regarded as a judgment on the duke for his share in the Union.

[3] *Ante*, vol. i. p. 256.

another and much humbler haunt of Gay during his residence in Edinburgh. It is a small lath and plaster edifice of considerable antiquity, which still stands directly opposite Queensberry House, and is said to have been a much-frequented tavern in Gay's time, kept by a hospitable old dame called Janet Hall; and if tradition is to be believed, *Jenny Ha's change house* was a frequent scene of the poet's relaxations with the congenial wits of the Scottish capital.[1]

Jenny Ha's Change House.

The huge dimensions of Queensberry House are best estimated from the fact of its having been subsequently converted into barracks and an hospital. The latest purpose to which the ducal residence has been applied, as a "House of Refuge for the Destitute," seems to complete its descent in the scale of degradation. Little idea, however, can now be formed, from the vast and unadorned proportions which the ungainly edifice presents both externally and internally, of its appearance while occupied by its original owners. The whole building was then a story lower than it is at present. The wings were surmounted with ogee roofs. The centre had a Mansard roof with storm windows decorated in the style of the palace of Versailles, and the chimney stalks were sufficiently ornamental to add to the general effect; so that the whole appearance of the ducal mansion was in keeping with the residence of a nobleman and the representative of majesty. The internal decorations were of the most costly description, including elaborately carved marble chimney-pieces. On the house being dismantled many of these were purchased by the Earl of Wemyss for completing his new mansion of Gosford House, near Edinburgh; but his successors have continued to prefer the old mansion which stands only a few hundred yards from the modern pile, and it is left accordingly in a more desolate state even than the deserted edifice in the Canongate, with whose spoils it should have been adorned.

On the site now occupied by a brewery, a little to the eastward of Queensberry House, formerly stood Lothian Hut, a small but very splendidly finished mansion, erected by William, the third Marquis of Lothian, about 1750, and in which he died in 1767. His Marchioness, who survived him

[1] *Traditions*, vol. i. p. 291.

twenty years, continued to reside there till her death, and it was afterwards occupied by the Lady Caroline D'Arcy, Dowager Marchioness of the fourth Marquis. This scene of former rank and magnificence would have possessed a greater interest had it now remained, from its having subsequently formed the residence of the celebrated philosopher, Dugald Stewart, and the place where he carried on many of his most important literary labours.

At the head of Panmure Close, on the north side of the street, an edifice of the time of Queen Mary still exists. It has already been referred to as bearing the earliest date on any private building in the Canongate. Like other buildings of the period it consists of a lower structure of stone with a fore stair leading to the first floor, and an ornamental turnpike within, affording access to the upper chambers of the building. At the top of a steep wooden stair a very rich specimen of carved oak panelling remains in good preservation, adorned with the Scottish lion, displayed within a broad wreath, and surrounded by varied ornamentation. The doorway of the inner turnpike bears on the sculptured lintel the initials I. H., and a shield, charged with a chevron and a hunting horn in base, with the date 1565, which leaves little reason to doubt that its builder was John Hunter, a wealthy burgess, who filled the office of treasurer of the burgh in 1568. The name of Panmure Close perpetuates the memory of the noble occupant of Panmure House, an old mansion, part of which still remains at the foot of Monroe's Close. It formed the town residence of the Earl of Panmure, who was succeeded in it towards the middle of last century by the Countess of Aberdeen. At that time it was pleasantly surrounded by open garden ground, and was deemed a peculiarly suitable mansion for such titled denizens. Towards the close of the century it passed from the occupation of noble tenants to become the abode of one of the greatest ornaments of Scottish literature, he to whom we owe the application of science to some of the most practical necessities of life, and the revolutionising of the commercial policy of the civilised world. Dr. Adam Smith was the intimate friend of David Hume, and was long urged by him to settle permanently in Edinburgh. But he found pleasure in the retirement of his native spot beyond the Forth; and his great work, the *Inquiry into the nature and causes of the Wealth of Nations*, was written there, in the little seaport of Kirkcaldy. In 1778 his appointment as one of the Commissioners of Customs for Scotland at length necessitated his removal to Edinburgh; and he then took up his residence in Panmure House, where he spent the last twelve years of his life, enjoying the society of a distinguished circle of friends. When we last saw the old mansion thus associated with rank and genius, and which had been the scene of many an intellectual gathering, its glory had departed; and every trace of its old occupants had been obliterated in its transformation to an iron foundry.

The locality where the philosopher dwelt is rich in diversified associations. The Golfer's Land, which next invites notice, is less attractive architecturally than for the enigmatic inscriptions in which its history is obscurely embodied. John Paterson's house, or THE GOLFER'S LAND, forms a prominent object among the range of ancient tenements on the north side of the Canongate, and is associated with a romantic tale of the court of James VII, during his residence at Holyrood as Duke of York. The story narrated in the *Historical Account of the Game of Golf*, privately printed by the Leith club of golfers, bears that, during the residence of the Duke in Edinburgh, the question was started on one occasion by two English noblemen, who boasted of their own expertness in the game, as to whether the ancient Scottish amusement was not practised at an equally early date in England. The Duke's fondness for the game has already been referred to,[1] and he was now stimulated to its defence as a national amusement peculiar to Scotland from his desire to win popular favour: in which he was no way more likely to succeed than by flattering the prejudices of the Scotch on any question of nationality, and becoming their champion in its defence. The antiquity of the Scottish game is proved by a statute, passed in the reign of James II, 1457, forbidding the practice of both "fute-ball and golfe" under the penalty of the *Baron's unlaw*, and enacting the use of the bow in its stead. The evidence on the English side not being so readily forthcoming, the Englishmen offered to rest the legitimacy of their national pretensions on the result of a match to be played by them against His Royal Highness and any Scotsman he chose to select. The Duke immediately accepted the challenge, and, after careful inquiry, selected as his partner John Paterson, a poor shoemaker of the Canongate, whose ancestors had been celebrated as proficients in the game, and who then enjoyed the honour of being considered the best golfer of his day. The match was played by the Duke and his partner against their English challengers on the Links of Leith; heavy stakes were risked by the Duke and his noble opponents on the results; and after a keen contest, the royal champion of Scotland and his humble squire carried the day triumphantly. The poor shoemaker was rewarded with a liberal share of the stakes forfeited by the challenger, and with this he built the substantial tenement which still records his name, and commemorates his victory over the impugners of the national sport.

A handsome tablet on the front of the mansion bears the Paterson arms: three pelicans feeding their young, with three mullets on a chief, and surmounted by a knight's helmet, and a crest now much defaced; but the device is preserved as it appeared at an earlier date, in a manuscript collection of Heraldry by the late A. Deuchar: a mailed hand holding a golfer's club as crest, and the motto, SURE AND FARRE. Over the ground floor a

[1] *Ante*, vol. i. p. 136.

plain slab is inscribed with the following epigram, from the pen of the celebrated Dr. Pitcairn, commemorative of the heroic deeds of the builder, and the national claims which he successfully asserted—

"Cum victor ludo, Scotis qui proprius, esset,
Ter tres victores post redemitos avos,
Patersonus, humo tunc educebat in altum
Hanc, quæ victores tot tulet una, domum."

The letters of this elegant distich were originally gilded, so as to attract the notice of the passer, but this has disappeared, and the inscription no longer challenges the attention of any but the curious antiquary. Underneath it is carved a sufficiently commonplace, though very natural sentiment for one who had achieved such unexpected honour and reward: I HATE NO PERSON. It proves, however, to be the transposition of the letters of John Paterson's own name into an anagram, according to the quaint fashion of the age. The ancient tenement is shown in its present condition on the plate, and the inscriptions upon it leave no reasonable doubt of the traditional fame of the Canongate golfer. It seems a pity to have to disturb in any degree a tradition backed by such incontrovertible evidence; and above all to cast discredit on the legend of the poor shoemaker and his lucky award. But it appears probable, from the evidence of the title-deeds, that the Golfer's Land was lost, instead of won, by the gaming propensities of its owner. It was acquired in 1609 by Nicol Paterson, Maltman in Leith, from whom it passed in 1632 to his son, John Paterson, and Agnes Lyel, his spouse. He died in 1663, as appears by the epitaph on his tomb,—which existed in Maitland's time in the cemetery attached to Holyrood Abbey,—after having several times filled the office of bailie of Canongate.[1] Both the Leith maltman and the bailie, his son, as we may infer from the inscription on the old tenement, were zealous and successful wielders of the golfing club: a virtue which they bequeathed to the younger John Paterson, the hero of the traditional tale, along with the old land which bears his name. The style of the building confirms the idea of its having been rebuilt by him, with the spoils won, as we are bound to presume, on Leith Links from "our auld enemies of England." The title-deeds, however, render it probable that other stakes had been played for with less success. In 1691 he grants a bond over the property for £400 Scots. This is followed by letters of caption and horning, and other direful symptoms of legal assault, which pursue the poor golfer to his grave, and remain behind as his sole legacy to his heirs. Paterson appears, from other evidence, to have been immediately succeeded in the old dwelling by John, second Lord Bellenden, who died there in 1704; since which time the Golfer's Land has run its course, like other tenements of

[1] Maitland, p. 160.

this once patrician burgh, and is now occupied by the same class of plebcian tenants as has everywhere succeeded to the old courtiers of Holyrood.[1]

Whitefoord House, a comfortable modern mansion, originally occupied by Sir John Whitefoord, stands immediately behind Janet Hall's humble dwelling, surrounded by open gardens, forming the site of the ancient lodging of the Earls of Winton, celebrated alike by associations with history and romance. It was the court residence of one of the most powerful leaders of the Catholic party, when the widowed Queen of Francis II came to enter on her own independent sovereignty. But all we know definitely of the building is derived from the extensive area laid down in Edgar's map of 1742, designated the "ruins of late Earl of Winton's house." Here, in its actual associations with history, we learn from the contemporary *Diurnal of Occurrents*, when in February 1565 Henry Lord Darnley followed his father, the Earl of Lennox, to Edinburgh, he "wes lugeit in my Lord Scytoun's lugeing in the Cannongait besyid Edinburgh."[2] From thence he followed the royal widow to Wemyss Castle, beyond the Forth, and—fool though he was,—outwitted the intrigues of practised diplomatists. He was a prince of the royal blood, from the Court of Queen Elizabeth, yet a Catholic. His marriage to Mary Stuart seemed, therefore, to determine the triumph of the party to which the Seytouns adhered; and great doubtless was the rejoicing in their old halls. To these the great romancer leads us, ere long, with Roland Græme, through a vaulted archway of the Canongate graced by a shield of arms supported by two huge foxes, sculptured in stone, and down a narrow lane, into the Seytoun Quadrangle, with its windows surmounted by heavy architraves adorned with armorial bearings and religious devices; and so to the lofty hall, surrounded with weapons and suits of ancient and rusted armour, interchanged with massive stone scutcheons bearing double tressures, fleured and counter-fleured, wheat sheaves, coronets, and other Seytoun blazonry: all of which was so utterly thrown away on the headstrong young page, Roland Græme. And following on chronologically as we return to actual history, the same mansion became, in 1582, the fitting residence of the French Ambassador, Manzeville,[3] when he visited the Court

[1] The funeral letter of Lord Bellenden affords evidence of the change of manners since it was issued. It is as follows: "The honour of your presence to accompany the corps of my Lord Bellenden, my father, from his lodgings in Paterson's Land, near the Cannongate foot, to his burial place in the Abay Church, upon Sunday the 3d instant, at 8 of the clock in the morning, is earnestly desired by John Bellenden." Some curious information is given in an "Act in favors of James Donaldson, to print Buriall Letters, Mar. 10, 1699," wherein it appears "That the petitioner hath fallen upon a device for printing or stamping them in a fine wryt character, . . . by this device the leidges may be both cheiper and sooner served than ordinar, Buriall Letters being oft times in haste; *besides the decency and ornament of a border of skeletons' mortheads, and other emblems of mortality*, which the Petitioner hath so contrived that it may be added or abstracted at pleasure"!—Documents relative to Scottish printing, *Mait. Misc.* vol. ii. pp. 233-234.

[2] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 79.

[3] Moysie's *Memoirs*, p. 77.

of Holyrood as the special agent of the house of Guise; while La Mothe Fénélon was the accredited representative of Henry III, with secret permission from the captive Queen Mary to address her son as King. Here accordingly the emissary of the Duke of Guise plotted and intrigued with the leaders of the Catholic party, and filled the mind of the English ambassador with keenest apprehensions by sending to the young King "a present of French apples, almond, and other fruit," which he interpreted as a missive that all was ready for the plot, and wrote accordingly to inform Queen Elizabeth of the significant gift. But the Seytouns and Wintons were on the losing side, as they continued to be to the last. George, the fifth Earl, was attainted in consequence of his share in the ill-concerted insurrection of 1715; and the old edifice, forsaken by its noble owners, was abandoned to desolation and ruin.

Sir John Whitefoord, by whom the ruined lodging of the Seytouns was superseded by a mansion built according to the standard of taste of the eighteenth century, was one of the first to desert the old town for a more modern residence built for himself on the north side of St. Andrew Square. He was joined in the enterprise by Sir Robert Murray and Gilbert Meason, Esq., the latter of whom gave practical evidence of his reverence for the memorials of the olden time by investing the sum of £1000 sterling, the yearly interest of which has been annually expended, since 1805, in restoring and keeping in repair the venerable Cathedral of St. Magnus at Kirkwall. Whitefoord House was latterly occupied for many years, till his death in 1823, by Sir William Macleod Bannatyne, a singularly attractive specimen of a gentleman of Old Edinburgh, before its antique mansions and manners had altogether fallen under the ban of modern fashion. He was a nephew of Lady Clanranald, who was committed to the Tower for affording protection to Prince Charles during his wanderings: so nearly connected are those romantic incidents with our own day. He was raised to the bench on the death of Lord Swinton, and took his seat as Lord Bannatyne in 1799. He was the last survivor of the "Mirror" Club, and one of the contributors to the periodical from which it derived its name. His conversational powers were great; and his lively reminiscences of the eminent men and the leading events of last century are referred to by those who have enjoyed his cheerful society, when in his ninetieth year, as peculiarly vivid and characteristic.

Among the antique groups of buildings in the Canongate, scarcely any one has more frequently attracted the artist by the picturesque irregularity of its features than the White Horse Close: an ancient hostelry to which fresh interest has been attached by the magic pen of Scott, who peopled anew its deserted halls with the creations of his fertile genius. Tradition, with somewhat monotonous pertinacity, affirms that it acquired its name

from a beautiful white palfrey belonging to Queen Mary.[1] There is no reason, however, to think from the style and character of the building that it is any older than the date 1623, which is cut over a dormer window on its south front. The interest is much more legitimate which associates it with the cavaliers of Prince Charles's Court, as the quarters of Captain Waverley during his brief sojourn in the capital. It forms the main feature in a small paved quadrangle near the foot of the Canongate. A broad flight of steps leads up to the building, diverging to the right and left from the first landing, and giving access to two singularly picturesque timber porches which overhang the lower story, and form the most prominent features in the view. A steep and narrow alley passes through below one of these, and leads to the north front of the building.

Owing to the peculiar slope of the ground, the building rises on this side to more than double the height of its south front; and a second tier of windows in the steep roof gives it some resemblance to the old Flemish hostels, still occasionally to be met with by the traveller in Belgium. But while the traveller's quarters are thus crowded into the roof, the whole of the ground floor is arched and fitted up with ample accommodation for his horses: an arrangement thoroughly in accordance with the Scottish practice in early times. In an act passed in the reign of James I, 1425, for the express encouragement of innkeepers, all travellers stopping at burgh towns are forbid to lodge with their acquaintances or friends, or in any other quarters, but in "the hostillaries," with this exception: "Gif it be the persones that leadis monie with them in companie,"—*i.e.* gentlemen attended with a numerous retinue,—"thai sall have friedome to harberie with their friends; swa that their horse and their meinze be harberied and ludged in the commoun hostillaries." Almost immediately adjoining the north front of the White Horse Inn was a large tank or pond for watering horses, from whence "The Water Gate," the name of the principal gate of the burgh, was derived. Here, therefore, was the rendezvous for knights and barons, with their numerous retainers, and the chief scene of the arrival and departure of travellers of rank and importance, during the seventeenth century: contrasting as strangely with the provisions of modern refinement as any relic that survives of the Canongate in those good old times.

The courtyard of the White Horse Inn is completed by an antique tenement towards the street, which tradition points out as the residence of Bishop Paterson, or Bishop Bandstrings as he was profanely styled, one of the latest Episcopal dignitaries of the Scottish Church, and a special subject of scandal to the Covenanters. He was formerly chaplain to the Duke of Lauderdale, and was currently reported to have owed his promotion to the

[1] Chambers's *Traditions*, vol. ii. p. 295.

favour of the Duchess.[1] A little to the eastward of the White Horse Close, and immediately adjoining the Water Gate, a plain modern land occupies the site of St. Thomas's Hospital, founded by George Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, in 1541, and dedicated to God, the Virgin Mary, and all saints. It consisted of a chapel and almshouse, which were purchased by the magistrates of Canongate, in the year 1617, from the chaplains and bedesmen, with the consent of David Creichton of Lugtoun, the patron, who probably reserved to himself the endowments. Its new patrons converted it into an hospital for the poor of the burgh, and invited the charity of the wealthy burghers of Canongate by placing over the entrance a sculptured tablet with the figures of two cripples, an old man and woman, and the Canongate arms, with the invocation: HELPE HERE THE POORE, AS ZE VALD GOD DID ZOV. JUNE 19, 1617. But the response to this moving appeal must have proved wholly inadequate, for when Maitland wrote the chapel had been converted into a coach-house, and both it and the hospital were in a very ruinous state. In 1778 it was entirely demolished, and its site occupied by private dwellings.[2]

The Water Gate formed the chief entrance to the burgh of Canongate, and one of the main approaches to the capital previous to the erection of the North Bridge. It is a port of considerable antiquity, being represented as such in the maps of 1544 and 1573; and in the Registers of the Burgh for 1574 the Treasurer is ordered "to bye ane lok and key to the Wattir Yet."[3] Through it the Earl of Hertford entered with the army of Henry VIII in the former year; and, at the same place, the Marquis of Montrose, the Earl of Argyle, and others of less note, were received, on their capture, with all the ignominy that party rancour could devise.[4] Perhaps, however, an unauthorised entrance by the same public thoroughfare, in the year 1661, may be considered no less singular than any of which it has been the scene.

[1] An anonymous letter, addressed to the Bishop by some of his Presbyterian revilers in 1681, is preserved among the collection of original documents in the City Chambers. It supplies a sufficiently minute narrative of his proceedings, both in Edinburgh and elsewhere; of his escape from an enraged husband by leaping the Water of Errie, thenceforth called "Paterson's Loup"; of his dealings with "that Jezebel the Dutchess"; the Town Guard of Edinburgh, etc., all told in somewhat too plain language for modern ears.

[2] Maitland, p. 155; Arnot, p. 249. The property of this pious foundation appears to have been alienated long before. We have found, in the Burgh Charter Room, "A disposition of house near the ground of the Holy Cross. John Patersone to Andrew Russell," dated 1628, which runs thus: "All and hail, that fore buith and dwelling-house, and back vault of the same, lying contiguous thereto; lying in the ground pertaining to the land sometime pertaining to the puir Bedemen of the Hospital, founded beside the Abbey of the Holy Cross, by umquhile George, Bishop of Dunkeld; and under the nether fore stair of the same, with the pertinents, and free ish and entry thereto; which tenement lies within the said Burgh, on the south side of the King's High Street thereof, at the head of the wynd called Bell's Wynd." The name of St. Thomas does not occur in the charter of foundation as given by Maitland.

[3] *Register of the Burgh of the Canongate*, 18th October 1574.

[4] Fountainhall's *Hist. Observes*, pp. 185-190.

In the City Records of Edinburgh, after a gift of escheat granted by the Council to the Baron Bailie of Canongate of all heritable and movable goods belonging to the witches thereof, a report follows by the Bailie concerning Barbara Mylne, whom Janet Allen, burnt for witchcraft, "did once see come in at the Water Gate in likeness of a catt, and did change her garment under her awin staire, and went into her house."[1] Such residenters were not effectually expelled from the burgh by the gift of escheat, though it is probable their worldly circumstances were thereby left more dependent on their own peculiar resources. We learned from an intelligent old lady, who resided in the Canongate in her younger years, that one Christian Burns, who then dwelt in Strachie's Close, enjoyed the universal reputation of a witch; and on one occasion within her recollection was *scored aboon the breath,—i.e.* had a deep cut made in her forehead,—by a neighbouring maltster, whose brewing, as he believed, had been spoiled by her devilish cantrips.

The Water Gate has long since ceased to be a closed port, but the Canongate dues are still collected there on all goods entering the burgh. Its ancient site was marked, till a few years since, by a pointed arch constructed of wood, and surmounted with the Canongate arms. This ornamental structure having been blown down in 1822, the fishwives of Newhaven and Musselburgh unanimously rebelled, and refused to pay the usual burghal impost levied on their burdens of fish. The warfare was unflinchingly maintained by these amazons for some time; and the magistrates were at length compelled to restore peace to their gates by replacing the decorated representative of the more ancient structure. This, however, has again been removed, in consequence of the demolition of an antique fabric on the east side of the gateway; and such is the apathy of the present generation that not even a patriotic fishwife was found to lift her voice against the sacrilegious removal of this time-honoured landmark!

A radiated arrangement of the paving in the street, directly opposite to the Water Gate, marks the site of the Girth Cross, the ancient boundary of the Abbey Sanctuary. It appears in the map of 1573 as an ornamental shaft elevated on a flight of steps; and it existed in nearly the same state about 1750, when Maitland wrote his *History of Edinburgh*. Every vestige of it has since been removed, but the ancient privileges, which it was intended to guard, long survived as a curious memorial of the ecclesiastical founders of the burgh. The origin and significance of the name find illustration in a memorandum of Bishop Lesley, of the year 1512. He is describing the negotiations of the French ambassador with James IV, which led ere long to his fatal march to Flodden; and he adds: "About this time the laird of Drumweydy wes slane in Edinburgh be tua of the surname of the Jerdains, qua tuik girthe in Halirudehous and escapit." This ancient

[1] Law's *Memorials*, Pref. p. lxix.

girth-right long survived its old monkish custodians. Within the sacred enclosures that once bounded the Abbey, and at a later period formed the chief residence of the Scottish Court, the happy debtor continued to be safe from the assaults of inexorable creditors, and might dwell at ease in his city of refuge, if he had been fortunate enough to bear off with him the necessary spoils. It was, in truth, an *imperium in imperio*; an ancient royal burgh, with its own courts and judges and laws; and it still has its claims of watch and ward, and of feudal service, which every householder is bound to render as a sworn vassal of the Abbey during the presence of royalty, the election of peers, or like occasions of state. Endowed with such peculiar privileges and immunities, it is not to be wondered at that its inhabitants regard the ancient capital and its modern rival with equal contempt; looking upon them with much the same feeling as one of the Court Cavaliers of Charles II would have regarded some staid old Presbyterian burgher or spruce city gallant in his holiday finery. In truth, it is scarcely conceivable to one who has not taken up his abode within the magic circle, how much of the fashions of our ancestors, described among the things that were, in our allusions to the Cape Club and other convivial assemblies of last century, still survives in undiminished vigour under covert of the Sanctuary's protection.

On the south side of the main street, adjoining the outer courtyard of the Palace, a series of pointed arches along the wall of the Sanctuary Court-House indicate the remains of the ancient Gothic porch and gate-house of Holyrood Abbey, beneath whose groined roof the dignitaries of the Church, the nobles attending on the old Scottish kings, and the beauties of Queen Mary's Court passed and repassed to the Abbey Close. Adjoining this formerly stood Abbot Ballantyne's "great house or lodging, with the yard thereof, lying beside the port of Holyrood House, on the north side of the street." The groined archway of the fine old porch, with the remains of the good Abbot's lodging, forming, with the exception of the now ruined nave, the most ancient portions of the Abbey Palace, were recklessly demolished by the hereditary keeper in 1753, in order, it is said, to transfer his apartments from the gate-house to the main building of the Palace. An inaccurate view of the porch from the east, copied from a painting by Runciman, is given in Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*, and has been repeatedly copied with variations more or less fanciful. Skene, in one of his etchings, gives a view from the Canongate, which may be characterised as wholly fanciful, but which nevertheless has been followed as an authority in many subsequent drawings. The only reliable view of it is derived from a careful drawing in the collection of Dr. David Laing, which from its style may be ascribed to one or other of the brothers Paul or Thomas Sandby. It has been reproduced on a previous page, and its correctness is partially confirmed by its accord-

ance with the fragment that still remains. As will be seen, it is a large and finely proportioned gateway belonging to the ancient abbey and not to the Palace buildings. It is buttressed and gabled, with a stone-covered roof within embrasured walls, and a beautiful pointed archway surmounted by a sculptured tablet apparently representing the unicorn upholding the royal shield. Its destruction was inexcusable, and robbed the Palace of one of its most striking and picturesque features. A small and unpretending dwelling, which now occupies part of the site of Abbot Ballantyne's mansion, may perhaps excite interest in the minds of some curious readers as having once been the house of the notorious *Lucky Spence*, celebrated in the verses of Allan Ramsay in terms somewhat more graphic than poetical.[1] A singular discovery was made about fourteen years since, during the progress of some alterations on this building, which furnishes a vivid illustration of the desperate deeds occasionally practised under the auspices of its former occupant. In breaking out a new window on the ground floor a cavity was found in the wall containing the skeleton of a child, with some remains of a fine linen cloth in which it had been wrapped. Our authority, a worthy shoemaker who has occupied the house for the last forty-eight years, was present when this mysterious discovery was made, and described very graphically the amazement and horror of the workman, who threw away his crowbar, and was with difficulty persuaded to resume operations.

At the corner of the Horse Wynd, immediately to the west of the Abbey Court-House, a dilapidated mansion of considerable extent is pointed out as the residence of the unfortunate Rizzio, though it is an erection of probably a century later than the bloody deed that has given so much interest to the name of the Italian favourite. A curious and exceedingly picturesque court enclosed by the buildings behind bore in earlier times the name of the Chancellor's Court, having probably at some period formed the residence of that official dignitary. It is described in the title-deeds as bounded by "the venall leading to the king's stables on the south, and the Horse Wynd on the west parts"—a definition which indicates the site of the royal mews to have been on the west side of the Abbey Close. More recent and trustworthy traditions than those above referred to point out a large room on the first floor of this house as having been the scene of proceedings already referred to, connected with the rehearsal of Home's *Douglas*, in which the reverend author was assisted by Lord Elibank, Lord Milton, Principal Robertson, David Hume, Dr. Carlyle of Inveresk, Professor Ferguson, and Dr. Blair. Their actual share in the performance probably consisted in no more than reading the dialogue in parts; but scandal accredited the divines with the assumption of female characters and attire on the stage. It was, however, sufficiently scandalous to have countenanced

[1] "Lucky Spence's Last Advice," Ramsay's Poems, 4to, p. 33.

the drama by their presence at the rehearsal, and at the dinner which succeeded it in the Erskine Club, at the Abbey.[1] The old tenement wherein this singular assemblage took place was in course of demolition to make way for a chapel and school founded by the Duchess of Gordon, for the inhabitants of the sanctuary, when the first edition of this work was passing through the press. The antique building to the south, separated from this by the vennel mentioned above, appears from the title, to have been the residence of Francis Lord Napier at the memorable era of the Union Parliament.

The ancient Tennis Court which has been repeatedly referred to in the course of this work, the frequent scene of dramatic amusements of the royal occupants of Holyrood, survives now only in name; but this suffices to mark its site immediately without the Water Gate. The game of tennis was a favourite sport throughout Europe during the last century. Its most celebrated Scottish players are said to have been James Hepburn, Esq. of Keith, and the famous John Law, of Laurieston, afterwards comptroller-general of the finances in France.[2] The whole area to the eastward of the Tennis Court appears in Edgar's map as open garden ground attached to the Palace, with the exception of the small building known as Queen Mary's Bath; but shortly after Lord Adam Gordon, commander of the forces in Scotland, took up his residence at Holyrood Palace in 1789, he granted permission to several favourite veterans who had served under him abroad to erect small booths and cottages along the garden wall; and they so effectually availed themselves of the privilege that several of the cottages have since risen to be substantial three and four-storied lands. John Keith, a favourite subaltern, obtained at that time the piece of ground immediately adjoining Queen Mary's Bath, and in the course of rearing the large building, which now remains in the possession of his daughters, he had to demolish part of a turret staircase which led to the roof of the Bath. Here, on removing a portion of the slating, a richly inlaid dagger of antique form, but greatly corroded with rust, was found sticking in the sarking of the roof. It remained for many years in the possession of the veteran owner, and used to hang above the parlour fireplace along with his own sword. His daughter, to whom we owe these particulars, described the ancient weapon "as though it had the king's arms on it, done in gold." It was finally lent to a young friend, to add to his other decorations, preparatory to his figuring in one of the processions during the visit of George IV to Edinburgh in 1822, and was lost through the carelessness of the borrower. This curious relic of antiquity has been supposed, not without some appearance of probability, to have formed one of the weapons of the murderers of Rizzio, who are known

[1] *Vide* Burton's *Life of Hume*, vol. i. p. 420, where it is shown that Dr. Robertson was not then Principal, nor Dr. Ferguson Professor; though this is of little account, if they lived at the time in friendship with Home.

[2] *Archæol. Scot.* vol. i. p. 508.

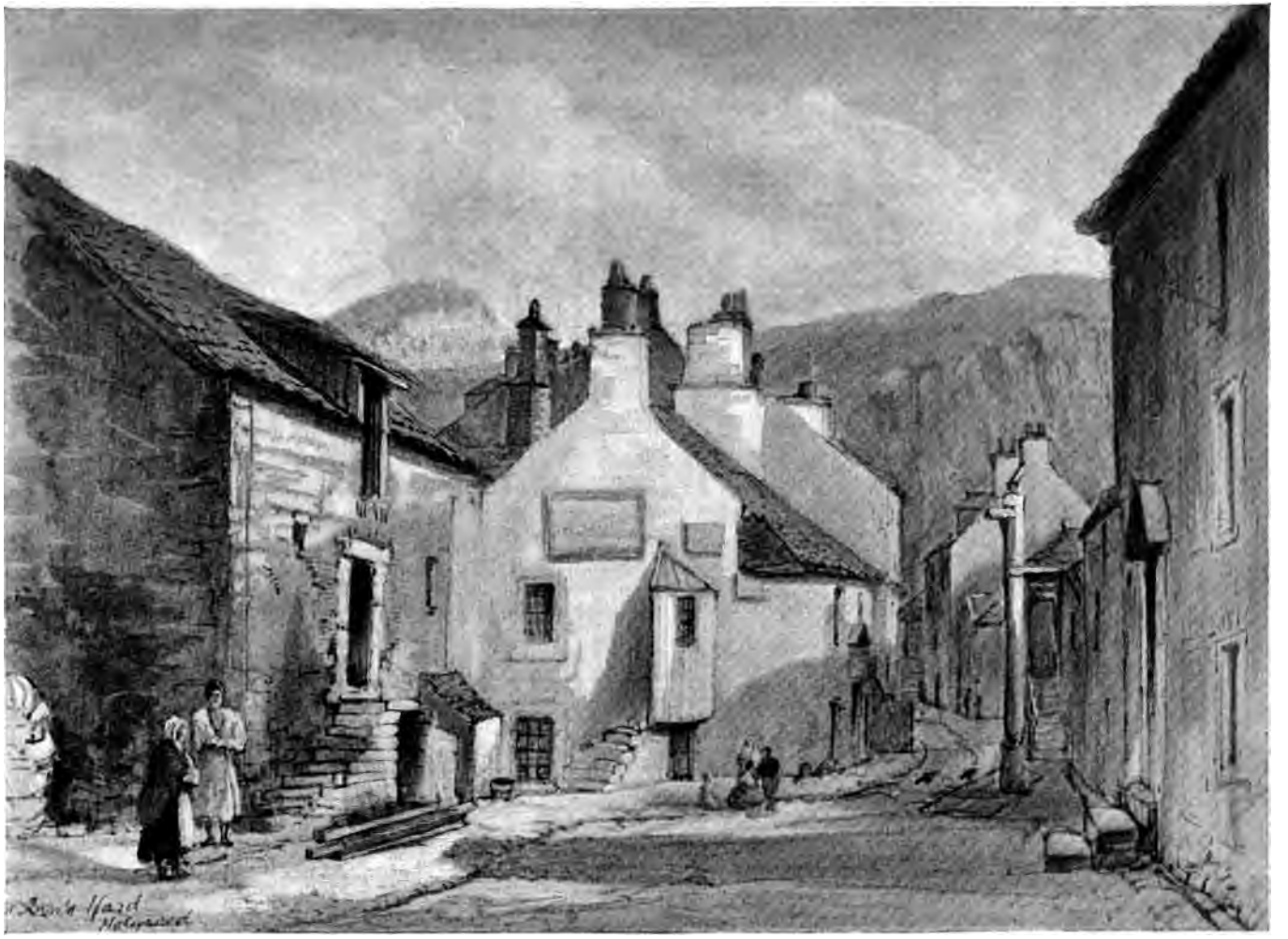
to have escaped through this part of the royal gardens. This curious and exceedingly picturesque lodge of the ancient Palace has since then been recognised as an interesting historical relic well worthy of preservation. The tradition of its having been used as a bath by the Scottish Queen is of old standing. Pennant tells us seriously that Mary is reported to have used a bath of white wine to exalt her charms; a custom, he adds, strange, but not without precedent.[1] Other no less efficacious means have been assigned as expedients resorted to by Queen Mary for shielding her beauty against the assaults of time, but the existence of a very fine spring of water immediately underneath the earthen floor may lend some probability to her use of the pure and limpid element.

Beyond this lies the district of Abbey Hill, an old-fashioned suburb which has risen up around the outskirts of the Palace, and includes one or two ancient fabrics that probably formed the residence of the courtiers of Holyrood in days of yore. Here is a narrow lane leading into St. Anne's Park, which bears the curious Gaelic title of *Croft-an-righ*, or the King's Field, a name that furnishes very intelligible evidence of its ancient enclosure within the royal demesnes. One tenement near the Palace has the angles of its southern gable flanked with large round turrets, in the castellated style of James VI's reign, while the north front is ornamented with dormer windows. This antique fabric answers generally to the description of the mansion purchased by William Graham, Earl of Airth, from the Earl of Linlithgow at the instigation of his *woefull wyse wyfe*. It is described by him as the house at the back of the Abbey of Holyrood House which sometime belonged to the Lord Elphinstone; and though he adds, "within two years after or thereby, that house took fyre accedintallie, and wes totallie burned, as it standeth now, like everie thing that the unhappie woman, my wyfe, lade hir hand to,"[2] many of our old Scottish houses have survived such conflagrations, and still remain in like good condition.

The view of St. Anne's Yard shows a little hamlet that grew up within the precincts of the Abbey sanctuary towards the end of the seventeenth century, and was swept away when Prince Albert undertook the remodelling of the Royal Park; and Holyrood Palace became for a time a favoured resting-place on the journeys of Queen Victoria from Windsor to Balmoral. "The Shepherd's Tryst," a picturesque, high-gabled dwelling, with dormer windows of the time of James VI, stood on the sloping bank at the foot of Salisbury Crags, and between this and the Palace privileged retainers were allowed gradually to encroach on "the king's garden." Buildings clustered around the old well, enclosing an open court; and then extending on either side of the lane leading to the Crags. The origin of this pendicle of Holyrood, and the traditions connected with its occupants, are almost exclusively

[1] Pennant's *Tour*, vol. i. p. 71.

[2] *Minor Antiquities*, p. 271.



ST. ANNE'S YARD, HOLYROOD.

associated with a family whose history is coeval with the place. In 1689 William Miller, one of a primitive little community of Friends, or Quakers, in Lanarkshire, was installed in the office of gardener at Holyrood, through the influence of the Duke of Hamilton, hereditary keeper of the Palace. He is described, in a family journal, as travelling to his new house "in patriarchal simplicity, on foot, with his children and worldly goods slung in panniers on the backs of two asses." In the formal latinity of a later official document he is designated "Hortularius in Abbatu de Holyrood-House." In Edinburgh he maintained his fidelity to the Society of Friends, and was for many years clerk and treasurer of the Meeting, carefully husbanding its funds and entering many quaint records on its minutes. His wife, Margaret Cassie, was greatly esteemed as a gifted preacher and a faithful confessor in persecuting times, when she was repeatedly exposed to cruel violence, and "was for some time a prisoner for truth in a dungeon at Montrose." The house in the centre of the view, latterly known as "The Holyrood Dairy," was the residence of the old gardener; and here, "when Friends were shut out from their meeting-house by the persecuting magistrates, and in consequence were wont to meet at the foot of our own turne pike," Margaret Miller bravely took her stand as preacher, with her husband and a son on either side protecting her from the brutal fury of the rabble.

But times changed. George, the eldest son, became a wealthy burgess and guild brother, somewhat inconsistently making "his solemn affirmation of fidelity to His Majestie, King George the Second," and then having his house searched, as a notorious Jacobite, for Prince Charles Edward, who was believed to be in hiding there. The sacred precincts of "the king's garden" having been encroached upon for so reasonable a concession as a site for the gardener's lodging, the successful invaders followed up their advantage. George Miller, a grandson of the royal gardener, founded a brewery there, which figures in the accompanying view. It was celebrated for the excellence of its liquor, popularly known among Edinburgh topers as "true Quaker ale, with the hat on!" He made his fortune, settled down as a laird on his own lands in the East Neuk o' Fife, and figures in his portrait, preserved at Millerfield, in the very unquakerly garb of a finely-flowered vest, blue coat with brass buttons, ruffled shirt, and powdered hair.

But the interest which attaches to the devout old Holyrood gardener is mainly due to two descendants of his younger son, William, each perpetuating the name, though widely dissimilar in their characteristics. William Miller, younger son of "the patriarch," as he is styled in the family journal, rented the royal garden, and as a successful nurseryman and florist throve in life, and died leaving to his heirs such wealth and landed estate that the history of the later generations receives ample recognition in Burke's *Landed Gentry*. His descendant, William Henry Miller, inherited

the picturesque mansion of Craigantinnie, near Restalrig, the property in olden centuries of the Nisbets of Dean. He was a graduate of Cambridge, a black-letter scholar, and passionately devoted to his books; but shy, reserved, inordinately abstemious, and eccentric in his habits. He amassed a library, described by Dr. David Laing as "containing for rarity and condition an unrivalled collection of books in early English literature." He was so indefatigable in the pursuit of tall uncut copies of choice old authors that he acquired the sobriquet of "Measure Miller," and figures among the maskers in Dr. J. Hill Burton's *Book Hunter* as "Inchrule Brewer." He bequeathed his unique collection of books, valued at £80,000, to his old college at Cambridge; but hampered with so many absurd conditions that, covetable as were its prized contents, the gift was declined. He regarded everything modern with distrust, was a high Tory in politics, and with strange perversity the scholarly recluse thrice contested the seat of Newcastle-under-Lyne, and won his elections at enormous cost. He was notable for his spare figure, thin treble voice, and total absence of beard. Among the villagers of Restalrig he was mysteriously spoken of as a fairy changeling; and when on his death his body was, in accordance with the provisions of his will, interred in his own grounds in a grave sixty feet deep, the popular belief received fresh currency that the laird of Craigantinnie was a woman! The ingenious satirist already referred to, while averring in his *Book Hunter* that the marvellous knowledge of "Inchrule" was confined to the exterior of his books, thus slyly hints at the popular fancy: "The minuteness and precision of his knowledge excited wonder, and being anomalous in the male sex, even among collectors, gave occasion to a rumour that its possessor must veritably be an aged maiden in disguise."[1] A costly monument has been reared over his grave, fashioned, in accordance with his instructions, on the model of one of the mausoleums in the Via Appia at Rome. It is adorned with elaborate bas-reliefs, the work of an Italian sculptor, representing the overthrow of Pharaoh, and Miriam's song of triumph: "Sing ye to the Lord, for He hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea." The aptness of such decorations on this magnificent mausoleum, as a memorial of the eccentric recluse, is not easily imaginable. But it forms a striking feature in the suburban landscape a little way to the north of the Portobello road, and is a curious finale to the line of descent from one of the boys who in 1689 journeyed from the west in an ass's pannier, along with all his father's worldly goods, to enter on possession of their little plot in the king's garden at Holyrood.

Very different is the history of another notable descendant of the old

[1] *The Book Hunter*, 2d ed. p. 16. The sobriquet *Inchrule Brewer*, a covert allusion to the supposed descent of the laird of Craigantinnie, was a mistake. It should have been *Inchrule Gardener*; only that would have been less piquant.

Holyrood worthy. Not among legislators, nor in the records of the landed gentry, have we to search for information relative to the later William Miller, a younger grandson of George, the brewer, who added to the devout simplicity of "the patriarch" rare gifts in an important branch of art. He is the engraver to whose burin we owe some of the choicest reproductions of Turner's landscapes, including his prized pictures of "The Grand Canal, Venice," "Kilchurn Castle," "The Rhine," and "Modern Italy," all engraved on the largest scale. The great landscape painter affirmed William Miller to be unequalled in his art; and "Grecian Williams," another eminent painter, pronounced his work "perfectly exquisite," and rejoiced in having his own drawings transformed "through the witchery of his burin." In his later years he devoted himself more to painting in water colours, producing works of great beauty, true to nature, but revealing strongly the influence of Turner on his art. His studio and hospitable mansion stood till recently at Millerfield, on the south side of the Meadows, though hemmed in with the encroaching town, where in his own early years an unobstructed view commanded Arthur Seat and the Pentland Hills. A sundial of fine proportions and artistic beauty of detail formed a conspicuous feature in the garden, with its motto from Horace, *Odes*, Book II. xiv.

"Eheu! fugaces, Posthume, Posthume,
Labuntur anni."

It was carved from his own design, and its dial-plate engraved by himself, and remained as it was set up by him in the centre of the old-fashioned parterre, with its winding paths and quaint boxwood edgings: the haunt from earliest youth of the gentle, gifted artist, who retained his faculties in full vigour to the close, in his eighty-sixth year, of a life of unostentatious benevolence and unwearied devotion to art.

CHAPTER VIII

ST. LEONARDS, ST. MARY'S WYND, AND THE COWGATE

Doorway of Andrew Sympson the Printer's House, Cowgate.

THE date of erection of the first houses in the ancient thoroughfare of the Cowgate may be referred, without hesitation, to the reign of James III, when the example of the King, who, as Drummond relates, "was much given to buildings, and trimming up of chappels, halls, and gardens," was likely to encourage his courtiers to rivalry in rearing elegant and costly mansions. At the same time the increasing numbers of the population consequent on the frequent assembling of the Parliament, and the presence of the Court at Edinburgh, tempted citizens of rank and wealth to select sites for their dwellings beyond the recently built walls of the capital. Evidence, indeed, derived from some early charters, seems to prove the existence of buildings beyond the range of the first wall, prior to its erection, but these were at most isolated rural dwellings, and cannot be considered as having formed any part of the street.

The whole southern declivity of the old town, on which the closes extending between the High Street and the Cowgate have since been ranged, must then have formed a rough and unencumbered slope like the Castle bank, surmounted by the wall and towers erected by virtue of the charter of James

II in 1450; and skirted at its base by the open roadway that led from the Abbey of Holyrood to the more ancient Church of St. Cuthbert, below the Castle rock. It requires, indeed, a stretch of the imagination to conceive of this crowded steep, which has rung for centuries with the busy sounds of life and industry, as a rugged slope, occupied only by brushwood and flowering shrubs; yet the change effected on it in the fifteenth century was only such another extension as aged citizens can remember to have witnessed on a greater scale over the downs and cultivated fields now occupied by the modern city. To the same period may be referred, with much probability, the erection of houses along the ancient roadway from Leith that skirted the east wall of the town; and probably also the founding of the nunnery from whence the southern portion of it derived its name of the Pleasance, although Chalmers assigns the origin of the latter to "the uncertain piety of the twelfth century."[1] Spottiswoode remarks, "in the chartularies of St. Giles, the Nuns of St. Mary's Wynd in the City of Edinburgh are recorded. The chapel and convent stood near to the walls of the garden belonging at present to the Marquis of Tweeddale, and from its being consecrated to the Virgin Mary, the street took its name, which it still retains."[2] A curious allusion to this chapel occurs in the statutes of the burgh of Edinburgh, enacted during the dreadful visitation of the plague in 1530, where Marione Clerk is convicted by an assize of concealing her infection, and of having "past amangis the nychtbouris of this toune to the chapell of Sanct Mary Wynd on Sonday to the mess, and to hir sisteris house and vther placis," the pestilence being upon her, and thereby, as the statute says, doing all that was in her to have infected the whole town. The unhappy woman, convicted of the crime of going to church, during her illness, is condemned to be drowned in the Quarell Holes; and there can be no doubt that the barbarous sentence was carried into execution.[3] The salary of the chaplain of St.

[1] *Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 761.

[2] Spottiswoode's *Religious Houses*, 1755, p. 283.

[3] Acts and Statutes of the Burgh of Edinburgh, *Mait. Misc.* vol. ii. p. 115. This proceeding is by no means a solitary case. The following, which is of date 2d August 1530, is rendered more noticeable by the reasons for *mercy* that follow: "The quhilk day forsamekle as it wes perfytlie vnderstand and kend that Dauid Duly, tailyour, has haldin his wif seyk in the contagius seiknes of pestilens ij dayis in his house, and wald nocht revele the samyn to the officiaris of the toune quhill scho wes deid in the said seiknes. And in the meyn tyme the said Dauid past to Sanct Gelis Kirk, quhilk was Sonday, and thair said mess amangis the cleyne pepill, his wif beand *in extremis* in the said seiknes, doand quhat was in him till haif infekkit all the toune. For the quhilk causis he was adiugit to be hangit on ane gebat befor his awin durr, and that wes gevin for dome."

The following notice of same date proves the execution of this strange sentence on the unfortunate widower, though he happily survived the effects: "The quhilk day fforsamekle as Dauid Duly was decernit this day, befor none, for his demeritis to be hangit on ane gebbat befor his dure quhar he duellis, nochtwithstanding *because at the will of God he hes eschapit, and the raip brokin, and fallin of the gibbat, and is ane pure man with small barnis, and for pete of him*, the prouest, ballies, and counsall, bannasis the said Dauid this toune for all the dais of his lyf, and nocht to cum tharintill in the meyn tyme vnder the pain of deid."—*Ibid.* pp. 107, 108.

Mary's Nunnery was, in 1499, only sixteen shillings and eightpence sterling yearly; and its whole revenues were probably never large, the most of them having apparently been derived from voluntary contributions.[1] The site of this ancient religious foundation was on the west side of the wynd, where it contracts in breadth, a few yards below the Nether Bow. Of its origin or founders nothing further is known, but it was most probably dismantled and ruined in the Douglas wars, when the houses in St. Mary's and Leith Wynds were unroofed and converted into defensive barriers by the beleaguered citizens.[2] The late Mr. C. K. Sharpe possessed an antique gold ring, set with a coarse bloodstone, which was found in an excavation in St. Mary's Wynd. It bore round the hoop, in characters of the fifteenth century, the invocation: GOD . HELP . WIT . MARIA.

An interest attaches to the tenement directly opposite to the site of St. Mary's Chapel, and forming the south side of the alley leading into Boyd's Close, as having been the residence of James Norie, painter, the celebrated decorator during the earlier part of last century, to whom we have already frequently referred. James Norie is ranked as the earliest Scottish landscape painter; and had he not been tempted by the more lucrative work of the house decorator, he might have won for himself fair rank as an artist. Pinkerton, in his introduction to the *Scottish Gallery*, 1799, says: "Norie's genius for landscapes entitles him to a place in the history of Scotch painters." A close friendship was maintained between him and the poet, Allan Ramsay; and his name appears in the register of baptism of the poet's younger daughter, Agnes, as one of her sponsors. Under his instruction Alexander Runciman, and also, it is believed, Allan Ramsay, the son of the poet, acquired their training in art; and he figures as a subscriber to the first edition of Ramsay's Poems, published in a handsome quarto volume in 1721, with his portrait as the frontispiece, engraved from a painting by

[1] Arnot, p. 247.

[2] The following is the reference to the chapel in the titles of the property occupying its site: "All and hail these two old tenements of land lying together on the west side of St. Mary's Wynd, near the head of the same; the one on the south of old pertaining to Robert and Andrew Harts, and the other on the north called Crenzen's Land; and that laigh dwelling-house, entering from St. Mary's Wynd, on the west side thereof, in the south part of the tenement, of old called St. Mary's Chapel." In the *Inventarium Jocalium Altaris Monasterii Sancte Crucis*, 1493 (*Bann. Misc.* vol. ii. p. 24), there is mentioned "vna reliquia argentea pro altari Sancte Katerine cum osse eiusdem, quam fecit dominus Iohannes Crunzanne, quondam Vicarius de Vre." [Aberdeenshire.] It is possible this may have been the chaplain of the nunnery, from whence the neighbouring tenement derived its name. Besides Altarages dedicated to the Virgin, there were in Edinburgh and its neighbourhood the Abbey Church of Holyrood, founded in honour of the Holy Cross, the blessed Virgin, and all Saints; Trinity College Church, in honour of the Holy Trinity, the ever-blessed and glorious Virgin Mary, etc.; the large Collegiate Church of St. Mary in the Fields; St. Mary's Chapel and Nunnery in St. Mary's Wynd; St. Mary's Chapel, Niddry's Wynd; the Virgin Mary's Chapel, Portsburgh; the Hospital of Our Lady, Leith Wynd; the Chapel and Convent of St. Mary de Placentia in the Pleasance; the great Church at Leith, of old styled St. Mary's Chapel; and the Collegiate Church of Restalrig, the seal of which—now of very rare occurrence,—bears the figure of the Virgin and Child, under a Gothic canopy.

John Smibert. On St. Luke's Day, 18th October 1729, the Edinburgh School of St. Luke was founded; and on the roll of founders, now in the possession of the Royal Scottish Academy, Norie's signature appears along with those of his crony, Allan Ramsay, and of his son, the younger Allan, who at a later date, before the advent of Sir Joshua Reynolds, was the popular portrait painter at the Court of George III. Norie's own portrait, painted by Ramsay, now in the collection of the Royal Scottish Academy, shows a well-formed, genial face, set off, according to the fashion of the day, with a full-bottomed wig, such as the Lord Chancellor now wears only when in official costume. James Norie's best pictures are in the style of the Dutch school of landscape painters, frequently with the glow of an evening sky, and suggesting a familiarity with the works of Cuyp and Hobbima. His work-shop lay immediately behind and adjoining to the coach-house of Lord Milton, as appears from the titles of the property. Both buildings were afterwards converted into stabling for Boyd's celebrated White Horse Inn. The Pleasance and St. Mary's Wynd then formed the approach to the town by one of the great roads from the south of Scotland; and here, accordingly, were several of the principal inns. At the foot of the wynd was Mr. Peter Ramsay's famed establishment, from which he retired with an ample fortune, and withdrew to his estate of Barnton, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, still possessed by his descendants. A large and handsome edifice, with considerable pretensions to architectural ornament, near the foot of the Pleasance was the Black Bull Inn, another of those commodious and fashionable establishments, which the erection of the North and South Bridges ruined, by diverting the current of visitors to the capital into a new channel.

During the troubles of the Commonwealth, and Cromwell's invasion in 1650, Nicoll reports that "the toun demolished the haill houssis in St. Marie Wynd, that the enymie sould haif no schelter thair, bot that thai mycht haif frie pas to thair cannoun, quhilk thai haid montit upone the Neddir Bow."[1] The oldest date now observable is that of 1680, cut over the doorway of a house about the middle of the wynd on the east side, but one or two other tenements present features of an earlier character. At the foot of the wynd was situated the Cowgate Port, one of the city gates, constructed with the extended wall in 1513; and at a later period another was erected across the wynd at its junction with the Pleasance, which was known as St. Mary's or the Pleasance Port. This was a frequent scene of exposure of the dismembered limbs of political offenders, as in the case of Garnock and other Covenanters, whose heads were ordered "to be struck off, and set up upon pricks upon the Pleasance Port of Edinburgh."[2] The old port was demolished on the approach of the rebels in 1715, from the

[1] Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 24.

[2] Fountainhall's *Decisions*, vol. i. p. 159.

difficulty of maintaining it in case of assault ;[1] but part of the wall remained, surmounted by one of the iron spikes, until its demolition in 1837 to make way for the new Heriot's School. This ancient thoroughfare is commended in Fergusson's "Address to Auld Reekie" as the unfailing resort of thread-bare poets, and the like patrons of the Edinburgh rag-fair. It still continued, till its transformation into the ampler thoroughfare of St. Mary's Street, to be the mart for such miscellaneous merchandise, flaunting in the motley colours of cast-off finery, and presided over by

"St Mary, broker's guardian saunt.'

Beyond St. Mary's Port lay the convent dedicated to Sancta Maria de Placentia. It stood about sixty yards from the south-east angle of the city wall, not far from the foot of Roxburgh Street. Among the donations to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1781 is "a representation of our Saviour before the Jewish high priest, carved in alabaster," which is stated to have been found in the ruins of an old religious house in the Pleasance. This is perhaps the only surviving relic of the ancient foundation, of which little more is known than the name.[2] This district anciently formed a part of the town of St. Leonards, as it is styled in the charter of Charles I. confirming the superiority of it to the magistrates of Edinburgh ; and the name of Pleasance, that early superseded its quaint title of Dearenough, and by which the main thoroughfare of this ancient village is still known, preserves a memorial of its long-extinct convent. Some singularly primitive erections, which remained on the east side of the street, are reproduced in the accompanying illustration, from a sketch made in 1840. A plain but very substantial stone structure of a single story is seen surmounted by a timber superstructure mainly consisting of a long sloping roof, pierced with irregular windows and loopholes wherever convenience suggested an opening ; while the whole plan of domestic architecture is evidently the result of a state of society when it was no unusual occurrence for the villager to carry off his straw roof along with him, and leave the enemy to work their will on the deserted walls.[3]

St. John's Hill and the Pleasance form a portion of the long ridge which skirts the valley at the base of Salisbury Crags. The whole of this ground appears to have been ecclesiastical property in early times, and appropriated to various religious foundations, all of which were subject to the canons of Holyrood.[4] St. Leonard's Lane bounded it on the south, separating it on

[1] Keith's *Hist.*, Spottiswoode Soc., vol. ii. p. 619.

[2] Maitland, p. 176. Piacenza, or Placentia, is now the second town in the Duchy of Parma. The Church of S. Maria di Campagna belongs to the Franciscan Friars. It was made the subject of special privileges by Pope Urban II, owing to his mother being buried there.

[3] A relic of a remoter era, a coin of the Roman Emperor Vespasian, was found in a garden in the Pleasance, and presented to the Society of Antiquaries in 1782.—*Account of the Society*, p. 72.

[4] The following names of property in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh occur in the Stent Rolls of

THE PLEASANCE.

that side from the Borough Moor. At the junction of these lands there stood, in ancient times, a cross, erected in memory of one Umfraville, a person of distinction, who was slain on the spot in some forgotten contest. The Scottish Umfravilles were of Norman blood. In 1243 Gilbert de Umfraville, Lord of Prudhow and Harbottil, in Northumberland, became Earl of Angus, by right of marriage with Matilda, Countess in her own right. His name appears at an earlier date as witness to a confirmation of one of the charters of Holyrood Abbey; and in a subsequent charter he appears as bestowing a carucate of land in Kinard on the same Abbey.[1] The shaft of the cross had long disappeared, having probably been destroyed at the Reformation; but the base, a large block of whinstone measuring fully five feet square, with a hollow socket for the shaft, was only removed in 1810. On an eminence at the end of the lane stood the chapel and hospital of St. Leonard, but not a fragment of either is now left, though the font and holy water stoup remained in Maitland's time, and the enclosed ground was then set apart as a cemetery for self-murderers. When, soon afterwards, it was wholly turned into garden-ground, the local poet, Claudero, dedicated an elegy to "the tuneful nine" *On the Pollution of St. Leonard's Hill, a consecrated and ancient burial-place near Edinburgh*, of which one stanza may suffice—

"The High Priest there, with art and care,
Hath purg'd with gard'ner's skill,
And trench'd out bones of Adam's sons
Repos'd in Leonard's Hill."

The hospital was erected for the reception of strangers, and the maintenance of the poor and infirm; and near to it there was another on the road betwixt Edinburgh and Dalkeith, founded by Robert Ballantyne, Abbot of Holyrood, for seven poor people. Of hospitals of this class, which were governed by a superior who bore the title of *Magister*, Spottiswoode enumerates twenty-eight in Scotland at the period of the Reformation.[2] St. Leonard's Chapel was the scene of a traitorous meeting of the Douglases, held on the 2d of February 1528, to concert the assassination of their sovereign, James V.[3] They were to enter the Palace by a window at the head of the King's bed, which was pointed out by Sir James Hamilton, one of their accomplices, who used to be the King's bedfellow, according to the homely fashion of the times. The energetic measures which were adopted

Holyrood, 1578-1630: "The Kirkland of Libertoun, the landis callit Pleasance and Deiranewch, the aikeris callit Biedmannis Croft of Sanct Leonardis gait, the landis of Bonyngtoun, the landis of Pilrig and commoun mvir, the landis of Wareistoun, the landis of Brochtoun, the landis of Coittis, the landis of Sauchtonhall and Sauchton," etc.—*Liber Cartarum*, p. cxvii.

[1] Maitland, p. 276; *Lib. Cart. Sancte Crucis*, pp. 24, 34.

[2] Spottiswoode's *Religious Houses*, p. 291.

[3] *Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 615.

on the discovery of this plot greatly tended to secure the peace and good government of the capital.

The Cowgate Port, at the foot of the Pleasance, one of the principal gates of the city, afforded access to the ancient street from whence it derived its name. Alexander Alesse, a canon of St. Andrews, who left Scotland in 1532, to escape the persecution to which he was exposed in consequence of adopting the principles of the early reformers, describes the Cowgate thus: "Infiniti viculi, qui omnes excelsis sunt ornati ædibus, sicut et Via Vaccarum; in qua habitant patricii et senatores urbis, et in qua sunt principum regni palatia, ubi nihil est humile aut rusticum, sed omnia magnifica." Mean and degraded as this ancient thoroughfare now is, there are not wanting traces of those palmy days when the nobles and senators of the capital had their palaces there, whose magnificence excited the admiration of strangers, though now its name has almost passed into a byword. A little to the westward, beyond a slight but picturesque old fabric which forms the north side of the Cowgate Port, the large old gateway remains which gave access to the extensive pleasure-grounds attached to the Marquis of Tweeddale's residence. In Edgar's map this garden-ground appears rising in a succession of terraces towards the noble residence, and thickly planted in parts with trees; nevertheless, the whole area had been covered at an earlier period with the crowded dwellings of the ancient capital, as appears from Gordon's view of 1647, and now the gardens are anew giving place to rude masonry. The Cowgate Chapel occupies one large portion, and manufactories and meaner buildings hem them in on every side. Towards the west, at the foot of Gray's Close, is Elphinstone's Court, already described, and beyond it the Mint Court still stands, with its sombre and massive turret of polished ashlar work protruding into the narrow thoroughfare of the Cowgate.

The venerable quadrangle of the Scottish Mint is formed by an irregular assemblage of buildings of various ages and styles, most of which still retain traces of the important operations once carried on within their walls. The Mint House was on the west side of the Abbey Close at Holyrood Palace in the earlier part of Queen Mary's reign, as appears from evidence previously quoted. From thence it was removed for greater safety to the new Mint House erected in the Castle in 1559;[1] and although, during the troubled period that followed soon after, the chief coining operations were carried on at Dalkeith and elsewhere, Sir William Kirkaldy still made use of "the cunzie hous in the Castle of Edinburgh, quilk cunzet the auld cunzie of the Queen."[1] No other Mint House was permanently established in Edinburgh

[1] In the Treasurers' Accounts the following entry occurs, February 1562-63: "Item, allowit to the Comptar, be payment maid be Johne Achesoun, Maister Cwnzeour, to Maister William M'Dowgale, Maister of Werk, for expensis maid be him vpon the bigging of the Cwnze-hous, within the Castell of Edinburgh, and beting of the Cwnze-hous within the Palace of Halierudhouse, fra the xi day of Februar 1559 zeris, to the 21 of April 1560, £460, 4s. 1d." [2] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 291.

until the almost total destruction of the buildings in the Castle during the memorable siege of 1572. The date over the main entrance to the most ancient portion of the buildings in the Cowgate, at the foot of Todrick's Wynd, is 1574, showing that their erection took place almost immediately after the demolition of the Castle.

This remnant of one of the most important Government Offices of Scotland at that early date is a curious sample of the heavy and partially castellated edifices of the period. The whole building was probably intended, when completed, to form a quadrangle surrounded on every side by substantial walls, well suited for defence against any ordinary assault; while its halls were lighted from the enclosed court. The small windows of the lower floor remain in their original state, divided by an oaken transom, and the under part closed with a pair of folding shutters. The massive ashlar walls are relieved by ornamental string-courses, and surmounted by gables decorated with large pedimented crow-steps of the earliest form. The original entrance, which is on the west side of the projecting turret, has long been closed up, and its sill is now sunk considerably below the level of the paving, owing to the gradual rising of the street, so common in earlier times, and of which we shall have occasion to refer to more surprising proofs. It bears on its lintel the legend, neatly cut in Roman characters: BE · MERCIFVL · TO · ME · O · GOD · 1574, above which is an ornamental niche, not unlikely to have contained a bust of King James. The internal marks of former magnificence are more abundant than those on the exterior, notwithstanding the humble uses to which the buildings have latterly been applied; in particular, some portions of a very fine oak ceiling still remain, wrought in Gothic panelling, and retaining traces of the heraldic blazonry with which it was originally adorned. Two large and handsome windows, above the archway leading to Todrick's Wynd, gave light to this once magnificent hall, which ordinarily formed the council-room where the officers of the Mint assembled to assay the metal and to discuss the general affairs of the establishment, but was occasionally turned to account for special state ceremonials. Here was the scene of a splendid banquet given "at the requeist of the Kingis Majestie, and for honour of the toun," to the Danish nobles and ambassadors who came over in the train of Anne, Queen of James VI, in 1590. The King writes, while absent on his matrimonial expedition, to Sir Alexander Lindsay, whom he soon after created Lord Spynie, "from the Castell of Croneburgh, quhaire we are drinking and dryuing our in the auld maner"; and the entertainment provided for his guests on his return appears to have shown no wish for a change of fashion in this respect. The banquet was furnished, on Sunday evening, in the great hall at the foot of Todrick's Wynd, which was hung with tapestry and decorated with flowers for the occasion; and the wine and

ale form the chief items in the provision ordered by the Council for the noble strangers.[1]

In the introductory historical sketch extracts are given from the very curious poem by John Bvrel, written on the occasion of Queen Anne's arrival, and entitled, "The Description of the Qveenis Maiesties maist honourable entry into the tovn of Edinbvrgh." The history of the author is unknown, but we have found among the title-deeds of part of the old property at the foot of Todrick's Wynd a disposition of a house by "John Burrell, goldsmith, yane of the printers in his majestie's cunzie hous," dated 1628, and which, when taken in connection with the profuse and very circumstantial minuteness with which the poet dwells on the jewellery that was displayed on that occasion, seems to afford good presumptive evidence of this being the same person. After devoting nine stanzas to such professional details, he sums up the inventory by declaring—

"All precius stains micht thair be sene,
Quhilk in the world had ony name,
Save that quhilk Cleopatra Queene
Did swallow ore into hir wame!"

The poet proceeds thereafter to describe with equal zest the golden chains and other ornaments made of the precious metals, and concludes with a patriotic supplication to Heaven on behalf of the good town. The goldsmiths connected with the Mint would appear to have possessed lodgings either within the building or in its immediate neighbourhood; and it was no doubt owing to George Heriot's professional avocations that he obtained the great tenement forming the north side of the Mint Court, which was afterwards devised by him as the most suitable place for his benevolent foundation.[2] George Heriot's large messuage or tenement was found by his executors to be waste and ruinous, and altogether unsuited for the purposes of his foundation. The buildings that now occupy its site appear to have been erected exactly a century later than the older portion of the Mint Close. An ornamental sun-dial, which decorates the eastern wing, bears the date

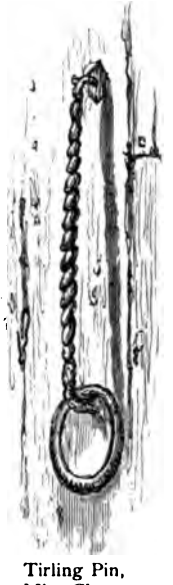
[1] 21st May 1590. "The quhilk day, John Arnott, Provest, Henry Charteris, etc., being convenit in the counsall at the requeist of the Kingis Majestie, and for honour of the Toun; It was thocht and agreit to mak ane honourabill banket to the Dence Imbassadours, and the famous persouns of thair company, quha arryvet furth of Denmark with the King and Queynis Majesties, and this upoun the Townis charges and expensis, to be maid in Thomas Aitchisoun's, Master of the Cunyie hous lugeing at Todrik's Wynd fute, upon Sonday at evin next to cum; and for the making of the preparatioun and furnessing thairto, hes set doun and devyset the ordour following; to wit, that the Thesaurer caus bye and lay in four punsheons wyne; John Borthuik, baxter, to get four bunnis of beir, with four gang of aill, and to furneis breid; Henry Charteris and Roger Macnacht to caus hing the hous with tapestrie, set the buirds, furmis chandleris and get flowres," etc.—*Vide* vol. i. p. 115.

[2] In Heriot's will the property is described as "theis my great tenements of landis, etc., lyand on the south side of the King his Highe Streit thairoff, betwixt the Cloise or Wenall callit Grays Clois or Coyne Hous Cloise at the east, the Wynd or Wenell callit Todrig's Wynd at the west, and *the said Coyne Hous Clois at the south.*"—Dr. Steven's *Life of George Heriot*, App. p. 27.

1674; and over the main doorway on the first floor, which is approached in the old fashion by an outside stair, is a sculptured tablet decorated with the royal initials C. R. II, surmounting a crown, with the inscription and date, GOD SAVE THE KING, 1675. Here was the lodging of the celebrated Earl of Argyle during his attendance on the Scottish Parliament, after Charles II had unexpectedly restored him to his father's title, as appears from a curious case reported in Fountainhall's *Decisions*.[1] The date is 22d November 1681, only a few days after the Earl had been committed a prisoner to Edinburgh Castle, from whence he effected his escape under the disguise of a page, holding up the train of Lady Sophia Lindsay, his step-daughter. Towards the close of last century, the mansion on the north side of the court was the residence of the eminent physician, Dr. Cullen, while Lord Hailes occupied the more ancient lodging on the south, before he removed to the modern dwelling erected for himself in New Street. The west side of the court was at one time the abode of Lord Belhaven; and Lord Haining, the Countess of Stair, Douglas of Cavers, and other distinguished tenants resided in this fashionable quarter of the town during the last century.

The main entrance on the first floor of the west side is approached, like that on the south, by a broad flight of steps extending into the court. The doorway is furnished with a very substantial iron knocker, of old-fashioned proportions and design; but on the lower entrance, underneath the stair, there remains a fine specimen of the knocker's more ancient predecessor, the Risp, or Tirling Pin, so frequently alluded to in Scottish song, as in the fine old ballad—

> "There came a ghost to Margaret's door,
> Wi' mony a grievous groan;
> And aye he tirled at the pin,
> But answer made she none."[2]



Tirling Pin, Mint Close.

The ancient privilege of sanctuary which pertained to those buildings, as the offices of the Scottish Mint, is curiously illustrated by the case in Lord Fountainhall's Reports, referred to above. A complaint was laid before the Privy Council, 22d November 1681, that a cabinet of the Earl of Argyle, which had been poinded forth of the "coin-house" of Edinburgh for a debt owing by the Earl's bond, had been rescued by open violence. In the debate that follows, its full privileges as "an asyle, refuge, and sanctuary, to

[1] Fountainhall's *Decisions*, vol. i. p. 163.

[2] These antique precursors of the knocker and bell were frequently to be met with in the steep turnpikes of the Old Town, notwithstanding the cupidity of antiquarian collectors. The ring is drawn up and down the notched iron rod, and makes a very audible noise within.

protect and defend the persons of the servants employed to work there in the service of the King and kingdom," as well as their tools and instruments, are admitted; and the claims of "the abbey, the coin-house, and such other places as pretend to be sanctuaries" are all placed on the same footing, without any final decision as to their rights.

The archiepiscopal palace of the Beatons occupies the whole space between Todrick's and Blackfriars' Wynds, and affords a striking example of the revolutions effected by time and changing fashions on the ancient haunts of those most eminent for rank and power. No doubt can be entertained, from the appearance of this building, that part of it has been rebuilt in a style more adapted to its later humble denizens than to the period when, in the Cowgate, "were the palaces belonging to the princes of the land, nothing there being humble or rustic, but all magnificent!" Considerable portions of the first edifice, however, still remain. It has originally enclosed a small quadrangle, and nearly the whole of the ground floor is substantially arched with stone, resting on solid piers, well calculated to afford secure protection against such assaults as it was frequently exposed to during the *raids* and *tulzies* of the sixteenth century.[1] The entrance to the inner court is by an arched passage in Blackfriars' Wynd, within which a broad flight of steps conducts to the main floor of the building. By this mode of construction, common in old times, the approach to the quadrangle could be secured against any ordinary attack; and the indwellers might then hold out, as in their castle, until they made terms with their assailants, or were relieved by a superior force.

The ancient building was erected by James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, as appears from various contemporary allusions.[2] He became Lord High Treasurer in 1505, was promoted to the Archiepiscopate of Glasgow in 1509, and, on the death of Archbishop Forman in 1522, was appointed Archbishop of St. Andrews; so that we may unhesitatingly assign the date of this erection to the beginning of the sixteenth century. He greatly enlarged and beautified the episcopal palace of Glasgow; and busied himself, after his translation to the latter see, in many important works. Upon all the buildings erected by him his armorial bearings were conspicuously displayed, and a stone tablet remained till a few years since over the archway in Blackfriars' Wynd leading into the inner court, blazoned with

[1] "Feb. 8, 1541-42.—Remission to John Lausone, John Scot, John Myllar, and John Scot, sen., for their treasonable besieging and breaking up the gates and doors of the lodging belonging to James (Archbishop) of Sanctandrois, situite in the Blackfriars' Wynd, within the Burgh of Edinburgh, for his capture and apprehension, he being within the said lodging at the time," etc.—Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, p. *257. The Archbishop died in 1539. This was no doubt an Act of Privy Council, applied for thereafter.

[2] "Bischope James Beatoun remained still in Edinburgh in his awin ludging, quhilk he biggit in the Frieris Wynd."—Pitscottie's *Chronicles*, vol. ii. p. 313.

CARDINAL BEATON'S HOUSE.

FOOT OF BLACK-FRIARS' WYND. COWGATE. 1817.

the Beaton arms, supported by two angels in Dalmatic habits and surmounted by a crest, sufficiently defaced to enable antiquaries to discover in it either a mitre or a cardinal's hat, according as their theory of the original ownership inclined towards the Archbishop or his more celebrated nephew the Cardinal.[1]

The exterior angle of this building, towards the Cowgate, is finished with a hexagonal turret projecting from a stone pillar which springs from the ground, and forms a singularly picturesque feature in that ancient thoroughfare. We find, however, from the early titles of the property, that the Archbishop's residence and grounds included not only the buildings between Blackfriars' and Todrick's Wynds, but the whole of the site now occupied by the ancient buildings of the Mint; so that there can be little doubt that extensive gardens were attached to his lodging in the capital. An inspection of the back wall of the Mint in Todrick's Wynd confirms the idea of its having succeeded to a more ancient building of considerable architectural pretensions; as, on minute examination, various carved stones were observed built up among the materials of the rubble work.[2]

Here the Earl of Arran and the chief adherents of his faction were assembled on the 30th of April 1520, engaged in maturing their hastily concerted scheme for seizing the Earl of Angus and in all probability putting him to death, when the poet Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, the author of the *Pallis of Honor*, waited on the Archbishop to entreat his mediation between the rival chiefs. The result of the interview has been related in the earlier part of this work. The Archbishop was already in armour, though under cover of his rochet, and when they met again after the bloody contest of "Cleanse the Causeway" it was in the neighbouring Church of the Blackfriars, where the poet's interference alone prevented the warlike Bishop from being slain in arms at the altar. After living in

[1] Nisbet, the best authority on such a subject, says: "With us angels have been frequently made use of as supporters. Cardinal Beaton had his supported by two angels in Dalmatic habits, or, as some say, priestly ones, which are yet to be seen on his lodgings in Blackfriars' Wynd."—Nisbet's *Heraldry*, vol. ii. part iv. The stone was acquired by Mr. C. K. Sharpe. The crest may have been an otter's head, which was that borne by the family; unless it be the top of the crozier, or pastoral staff, behind the shield. It is certainly neither a mitre nor a cardinal's hat.

[2] The following is the definition of the property as contained in a deed dated 1639, and preserved in the Burgh Charter Room: "Disposition of house, John Sharpe, elder, of Houston, advocate, to Mr. J. Sharpe, younger, his son. . . . All and hail that great lodging or tenement, back and fore, under and above, biggit and waste, with the yards and pertᵉ some time pertaining to the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, thereafter to umqˡᵉ John Beaton of Capeldraw, thereafter to the heirs of umqˡᵉ Archibald Stewart and Helen Aitchison, and thereafter pertaining to umqˡᵉ Thomas Aitchison, his Highness Maister Cunzier, lying within the Burgh of Edinburgh, on ye south of the King's High Street thereof, on ye east side of ye trance thereof, betwixt the close called Gray's Close and ye vennel called Toddrick's Wynd upon ye east, the transe of ye said Blackfriers' Wynd on ye west, the High Street of Cowgate on ye south, the yard of umqˡᵉ John Barclay, thereafter pertaining to umqˡᵉ Alex. Hunter, &c., on ye north," etc.

obscurity for a time, he was promoted to the metropolitan see of St. Andrews by the interest of the Duke of Albany. Yet such were the strange vicissitudes of that age, that he is believed to have escaped the vengeance of the Douglases during their brief triumph in 1525 by literally exchanging his crozier for a shepherd's crook, and tending a flock of sheep upon Bogrian-knowe, not far from his own diocesan capital. His venerable lodging in the capital is styled by Maitland "the archiepiscopal palace belonging to the see of St. Andrews." James V appears to have taken up his abode there on his arrival in Edinburgh in 1528, preparatory to summoning a Parliament; and the Archbishop, who had been one of the most active promoters of his liberation from the Douglas faction, became his entertainer and host. The tradition, which assigns the same mansion as the residence of Cardinal Beaton, the nephew of its builder, appears exceedingly probable, but no mention is made of him in the titles, unless where he may be referred to by the episcopal designation common to both.[1]

The palace of the Bishops of Dunkeld, and of Gawin Douglas in particular, the friendly opponent of the Archbishop, stood on the opposite side of the Cowgate, immediately to the west of Robertson's Close, and scarcely a hundred yards from Blackfriars' Wynd.[2] It appears to have been an extensive mansion, with large gardens attached to it, running southward nearly to the old town wall. Among the pious and munificent acts recorded by Mylne[3] of Bishop Lauder, the preceptor of James II, who was promoted to the see of Dunkeld in 1452, are the purchasing of a mansion in Edinburgh for himself and successors, and the founding of an altarage in St. Giles's Church there to St. Martin, to which his successor,

[1] The ancient mansion of the Beatons possesses an additional interest, as having been the first scene of operations of the High School of Edinburgh, while a building was erecting for its use, as appears from the following notices in the Burgh Record: "March 12, 1554.—Caus big the grammer skule, lyand on the eist syd of the Kirk-of-Field Wynd. Jun. 14, 1555.—Ilouse at the fute of the Blackfrier Wynd tane to be the grammer scole quhill Witsonday nixt to cum, for xvj li. of male.' *Tabu'a Naufragii.* Motherwell, privately printed. Glasgow 1834.

[2] This site of the Bishop of Dunkeld's lodging was pointed out by Dr. R. Chambers in a communication read before the Society of Antiquaries, 7th February 1847. The following notice, which occurs in a MS. list of pious donations in the Advocates' Library, of a charter of mortification, dated ult. Jan. 1498 confirms the description: "A charter by Thos. Cameron, mortifying to a chaplain of St. Catharine's altar in St. Geiles' Kirk, his tenement in Edinburgh, in the Cowgate, on the south side thereof, betwixt the Bishop of Dunkeld's Land on the east, and Wm. Rappillowes on the west, the common street on the north, and the gait that leads to the Kirk-of-Field [*i.e.* Infirmary Street] on the south." We have referred, however, in a previous chapter to the *Clam Shell Turnpike* in the High Street, as bearing the same designation; and the following applies it to a third tenement seemingly on the north side of the same street: "A charter by Janet Paterson, relict of umq^le^ Alex. Lowder of Blyth, mortiefieing to a chaplaine in St. Gilies Kirk an ann. rent of 4 merks out of Wm. Carkettel's land in Edinburgh on the north side of the street, betwixt the Bishop of Dunkell's land on the east, and the lo/ St. Jo. [Lord St. John's] land on the west," dated "20 June, Regni 10," probably 1523. Dec. an. reg. Jac. V.

[3] *Vitæ Dunkeldensis Ecclesiæ Episcoporum*, p. 24.

Bishop Livingston, became also a contributor.[1] The evidence quoted below renders it probable that the episcopal residence in the capital, thus permanently attached to the see of Dunkeld, was the lodging on the south side of the Cowgate; and the same ecclesiastical biographer already referred to mentions as one of the good works of Bishop Brown, the predecessor of Douglas, that he built the south wing of the house at Edinburgh belonging to the Bishops of Dunkeld.[2] It cannot be doubted that the mansion thus gifted and enlarged was a building well suited by its magnificence for the abode of the successive dignitaries of the Church who were promoted to that exalted station, and that it formed another striking feature in this street of palaces. Its vicinity both to the archiepiscopal residence and to the Blackfriars' Church—the later scene of rescue of Archbishop Beaton by Gawin Douglas,—affords a very satisfactory illustration of one of the most memorable civic occurrences during the turbulent minority of James V. The poet, after his ineffectual attempt at mediation, retired with grief to his own house, and employed himself in acts of devotion suited to the danger to which his friends were exposed; from thence he rushed out, on learning of the termination of the fray, in time to interpose effectually on behalf of the warlike priest, who had been personally engaged in the contest, and, according to Buchanan, "flew about in armour like a fire-brand of sedition." This old episcopal residence has other associations of a very different nature; for we learn from Knox's history that, when the Reformer was summoned to appear in the Blackfriars' Church on the 15th of May 1556, and his opponents deserted their intended attack through fear, "the said Johne, the same day of the summondis, tawght in Edinburgh in a greattar audience then ever befoir he had done in that toune: the place was the Bischope of Dunkellis, his great loodgeing, whare he continewed in doctrin ten dayis, boyth befoir and after nune."[3] A modern land now occupies the site of Bishop Douglas's palace; and the pleasure-grounds wherein the poet was wont to stray, and on which we may suppose him to have exercised his refined taste and luxurious fancy in realising such a "gardyne of plesance" as he describes in the opening stanzas of his *Pallis of Honor*, are now crowded with mean dwellings of the artisan and labourer:

[1] "Charter of mortification by Mr. Thos. Lauder, canon in Aberdeen [the future bishop, as we presume], to a chaplain in St. Geiles Kirk in Edinburgh, of an annual rent of 6 merks out of the tenement of Donald de Keyle on the N. side of the gaite . . . an annual rent of 40 sh. out of his own house lyand in the Cowgaite, betwixt the land of the Abbot of Melros on the east, and of George Cochran on the west," etc.—23d January 1449; MS. Advoc. Lib. "A mortification made by James [Livingston] Bishop of Dunkeld, to a chaplain of St. Martin and Thomas's Altar, in St. Geiles Kirk of Edinburgh, of an annual rent of £10 out of his tenement lying in the said burgh, on the north side of the Hie Street," etc.—*Ibid.* "Confirmation of a Charter granted be Thomas [Lauder] Bishop of Dunkeld, to a chaplain of the Holy Cross Isle, in St. Geiles Kirk in Edinburgh, of divers annual rents, dated 17th March 1480."—*Ibid.*

[2] *Vitæ Dunkeld. Episc.* p. 46.

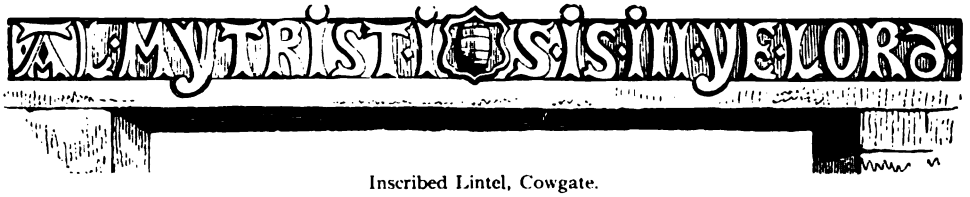
[3] *Knox's Works*, Wodrow Soc., vol. i. p. 251.

too much engrossed with the cares of their own domestic circles to heed the illustrious memories that linger about these lowly habitations.

But we must return to the archiepiscopal palace at the foot of Blackfriars' Wynd, and recall some additional long-forgotten honours. In 1561, when Queen Mary arrived from France, she was accompanied, as the author of the *Diurnal of Occurrents* records, by the grand prior, M. Dornell, the Marquis d'Elboeuf, a brother of Mary of Guise, M. d'Amville, and other French nobles; and on the 24th of August following, on the eve of their departure, they were entertained at a banquet provided by "the toun of Edinburgh in ane honourable maner, within the lugeing sumtyme pertenying to the Cardinal." It was evidently the most sumptuous private mansion in the town, with a magnificent banquet-hall, where the primate had practised the hospitalities of a churchman and political leader on a fitting scale. Here, accordingly, as the old diarist narrates, the Queen was herself entertained, and graciously received the young men of the town. "Upoun the nynt day of Februar at evin, the Queenis grace and the remanent lordis come up in ane honourabill maner fra the palice of Halyrudhous, to the Cardinallis ludging in the Blak Freir wynd, quhilk wes preparit and hung maist honourable, and there her Hienes sowpit and the rest with her; and efter supper the honest young men in the toun come with ane convoy to her." It is therefore no extravagant figure of speech to speak of the palaces of the Cowgate, in strange antithesis to the modern dwellings of those who have inherited these haunts of royalty and the palaces of nobles and ecclesiastics of the sixteenth century.

The range of buildings extending from the Cowgate Port to the Old High School Wynd, on the south side of the street, includes several exceedingly picturesque timber-fronted tenements of an early date; but none of them possesses such characteristics of former magnificence as are still found in the Mint Close. A finely carved lintel, which surmounted the doorway of one of a similar range of picturesque antique tenements to the west of the High School Wynd, has been replaced over the entrance to the modern building erected on the same site in 1801. The inscription AL. MY. TRIST. IS. IN. YE. LORD is boldly cut in characters different from those in use for such legends, and evidently of an early date. The initials I. S. occupy the centre, with a shield between; but the original armorial bearings have been replaced by a brewer's barrel, the device of its modern owner and occupant, as shown in the accompanying woodcut. We have found, when examining ancient charters and title-deeds referring to property in the Cowgate, greater difficulty in determining the exact tenements referred to, from the absence of such marked and easily recognisable features as serve for a guide in the High Street and Canongate. All such evidence, however, tends to prove that the chief occupants of this ancient thoroughfare

were eminent for rank and station; and their dwellings appear to have been chiefly in the front street, showing that with patrician exclusiveness traders were forbidden to open their booths within its dignified precincts. Another feature no less noticeable is the extensive possessions which the Church held within its bounds. An ancient land, for example, which occupied the site of one now standing at the foot of Blair Street on the west side, is described in the titles of the adjoining property as pertaining to the altar of St. Katharine in the Kirk-of-Field. In 1494 Walter Bertram, Provost of Edinburgh, bestowed an annual rent from his tenement in the Cowgate "to a chaplain of St. Laurence's altar in St. Giles's Church." In 1528 Wm. Chapman "mortified to a chaplain in St. Giles's Kirk, at Jesus' altar, in a chapel built by himself," a tenement and piece of ground in the same street, "reserving to ye patrons y^r of 26s. 8d. for repairing the chapel with



Inscribed Lintel, Cowgate.

skletts and glass." Both Walter Chepman and Thomas Cameron have already been named as similar donors. We shall only notice one more from the same source: "A mortification made be Janet Kennedy, Lady Bothwell, who was before spouse to Archibald Earl of Angus, mortefeing to a chaplain in the Marie Kirk in the Field, beside Edinburgh, her fore land of umq^le Hew Berries tenement, and chamber adjacent y^r to, lying in the Cowgait on the south side of the street, betwixt Ja. Earl of Buchan's land on the east, and Thos. Tod's on ye west."[1] We have already referred to "the Erle of Maris, now present Regent, lugeing in the Kowgait" in 1572,[2] and other eminent laymen will presently appear among the residenters in this patrician quarter of the town.

The destruction of an ancient tenement in the Cowgate in the month of June 1787, when clearing the ground for the building of the South Bridge, brought to light some curious memorials of an earlier age. The workmen employed in its demolition discovered a cavity in the wall containing a quantity of money, for the reception of which it appeared to have been constructed. The treasure consisted of a number of small coins of Edward I, who in the year 1295 defeated the Scots at Dunbar, and soon after compelled the Castle of Edinburgh to surrender to his overpowering force. Conjecture is vain as to the depositor of this hidden treasure, but we may fancy the

[1] *A perfect inventar of Pious Donations*; MS. Advocates' Lib.
[2] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 299.

prowess or cunning of some hardy burgher achieving a victory over a stray band of the insolent invaders, and concealing here the hard-won spoils for which he never returned. Beyond the arch of the bridge, from whence the busy crowds of the modern city look down on this deserted scene of former magnificence, we again come upon memorials of other times. Here a steep and straitened alley ascending towards the south formed in remote times the avenue to the Collegiate Church of St. Mary-in-the-Fields, and at a more recent though still early period the public approach to the Old College of Edinburgh. This ancient avenue possesses interesting associations with successive generations, from the period when Dominicans, Grey Friars, and the priests and choristers of St. Mary's College clamb the steep ascent: to a time, just gone by, when grave professors and practitioners of the law shared among them its *flats* and common stairs.

This ancient thoroughfare formerly bore the name of "The Wynd of the Blessed Virgin Mary-in-the-Field," as appears from the charters of property acquired by the town for the establishment of King James's College;[1] and it still retains some relics of this, its ancient ecclesiastical character. About the middle of the wynd on the east side a curious and antique edifice, forming a small quadrangle, retains many of its original features, notwithstanding its transmutation from a *Collegium Sacerdotum* or prebendal building of the neighbouring collegiate church to a brewer's granary and a spirit vault. The ground floor has been entirely refaced with hewn stone; but over a large window on the first floor a sculptured lintel is still preserved, which in 1779, when Arnot wrote, surmounted the gateway into the inner court. It bears the inscription of the salutation of the Virgin, cut in beautiful early characters:

Ave Maria, Gratia plena, Dominus tecum.

An elaborately decorated Gothic niche, represented in the vignette at the close of this chapter, still remains on the front of the building. It originally stood over the main gateway above the inscribed lintel, and without doubt contained a statue of the Virgin, to whom the wayfarer's supplications were invited. These interesting remains, so characteristic of the faith and habits of a former age, afford evidence of the importance of this building in early times, when it formed a part of the collegiate establishment of St. Mary-in-the-Fields, founded and endowed apparently by the piety of the wealthy citizens of the capital. To complete the ecclesiastical features of this ancient

[1] "Shaw's tenement in the Wynd of the Blessed Mary-in-the-Field, now the College Wynd. Item, an instrument of sasine, dated 30th June 1525, of a land built and waste, lying in the Wynd of the Blessed Virgin Mary-in-the-Field, on the west side thereof, &c., in favour of Alex. Schaw, son of Wm. Schaw of Polkemmet."— From Descriptive Inventory of Town's purchases for the College, Burgh Charter Room.

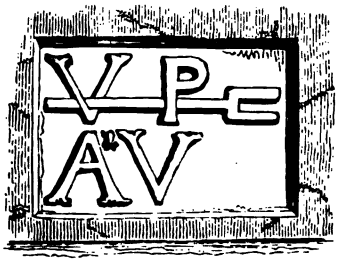
edifice, a boldly cut shield on the lower crow-step bears the sacred monogram ihs; and the windows retain the characteristic remains of mullions and transoms, with which they have originally been divided. Internally the building presents features of a more recent date, indicating that its earliest lay occupants were worthy neighbours of the aristocratic denizens of the Cowgate. A stucco ceiling in the principal apartment is adorned with a variety of ornaments in the style prevalent in the reign of Charles I, most prominent among which is the winged and crowned heart, the well-known crest of the Douglases of Queensberry, suggesting the likelihood of its having been the town mansion of William Douglas, Viscount Drumlanrig, created Earl of Queensberry by King Charles I. during his visit to Scotland in 1633. The projecting staircase of the adjoining tenement to the south has a curious ogee arched window, evidently of early character, and fitted with an antique oaken transom and folding shutters below. A defaced inscription and date are discoverable over the lintel of the outer doorway, and one of the doors on the stair still possesses the old-fashioned appendage of a tirling pin. Others of the buildings that remain in the wynd are of an early character. The most recent of them bears the initials of its builders on an ornamental shield sculptured on the lowest crow-step, with the date 1736: the only specimen of the kind that we have noticed belonging to the eighteenth century.[1]

The ancient collegiate church of St. Mary-in-the-Fields disappeared to make way for the first University buildings; and their displacement by the structure which now accommodates the College of King James involved the destruction of a dwelling which from its associations surpassed in interest even that neighbouring mansion where, as we believe, the poet Bishop Gawin Douglas penned his fine allegories of *The Palace of Honour* and *King Hart*. At the head of the wynd, on the east side, stood an antique quadrangular building of the same character as others still remaining, but distinguished from all as the birthplace of Walter Scott. The elder Mr. Scott then lived, according to the simple fashion of our forefathers, on a *flat* of the old tenement, approached from the little court behind by a turnpike stair, the different floors of which sufficed for the accommodation of equally reputable tenants, until its demolition to make way for the projected extension of the College. Here, also, near the top of the wynd, the celebrated chemist, Dr. Black, resided until his removal to Nicolson Street; and doubtless many learned professors and professional dignitaries were distributed among the densely peopled *lands* of this classic locality: where, to complete its literary associations, tradition delights to tell that Oliver Goldsmith lodged while studying medicine at the neighbouring University.

The accompanying engraving represents a portion of the antique

[1] A view of the ancient wynd is given in the *Reminiscences of Old Edinburgh*, vol. ii. pl. 76.

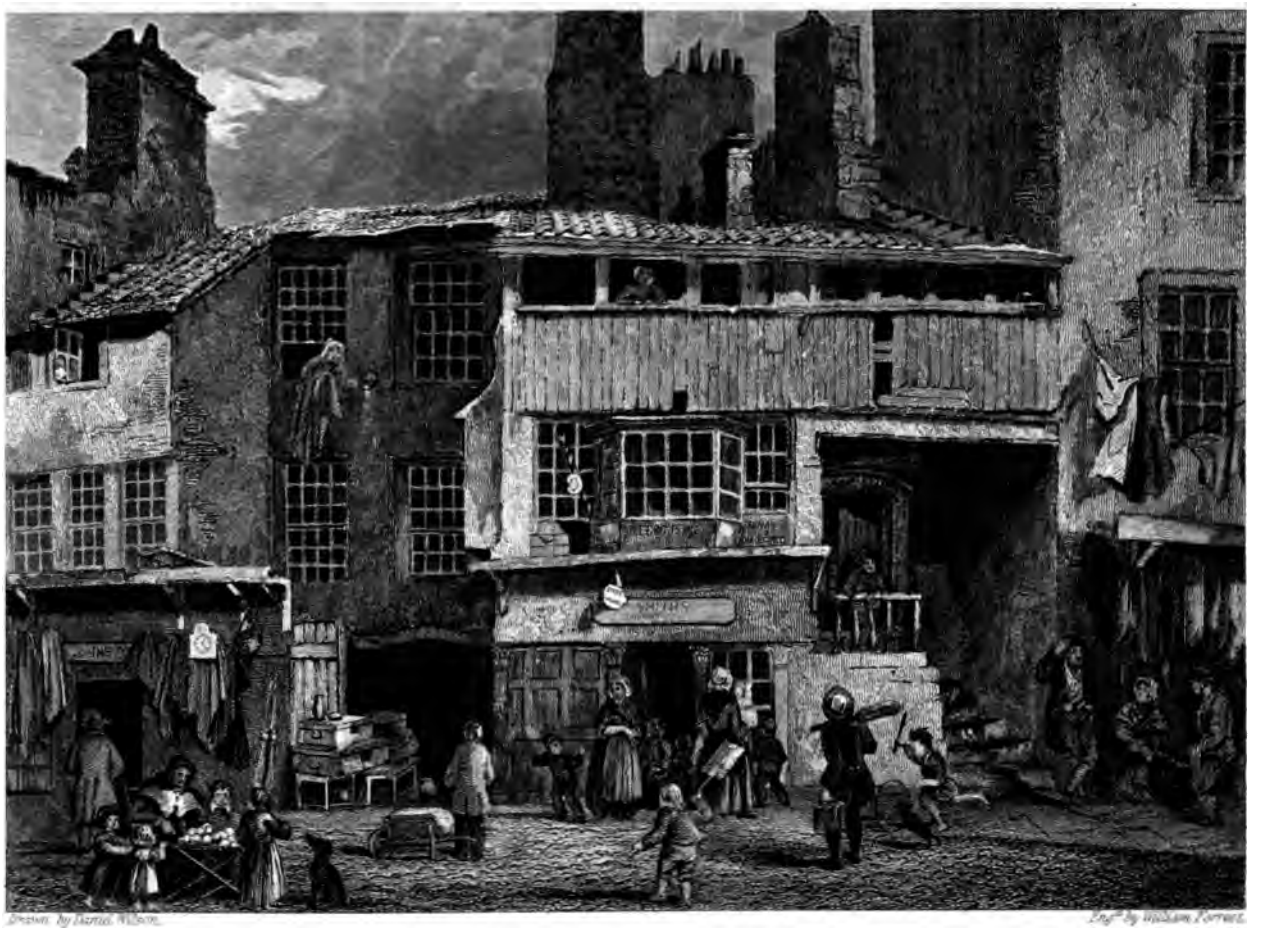
range of edifices that extends between the College and the Horse Wynds, —seemingly among the oldest and most picturesque features of the Cowgate that remain. Here again, however, we are baffled in our search after their earlier occupants. To the east of St. Peter's Close a substantial stone edifice of a highly ornamental character appears to be an ancient building, remodelled and enlarged, probably about the close of James VI's reign. Three large and elegant dormer windows rise above the roof, the centre one of which is surmounted by an escallop shell, while a second tier of windows of similar form appears behind them, springing from what we conceive to have been the original stone wall of a timber-fronted building. The antique staircase projects forward in a line with the more recent additions, and bears on its lintel the initials of the original proprietors, as represented in the accompanying woodcut. On the other side of St. Peter's Pend is the singularly picturesque timber-fronted tenement shown on the plate, the curiously carved lintel of which forms the vignette at the head of this chapter. An outside stair, constructed in a recess formed by the projection of a neighbouring building, leads to a handsome stone turnpike on the first floor. The fine doorway is finished with very rich mouldings, and surmounted with the following admirable incentive to virtuous conduct, in the characters and native vernacular of the sixteenth century, of which the woodcut furnishes a facsimile:



Carved Device, Ancient Doorway, Cowgate.

GIF . VE . DEID . AS . VE . SOVLD . VE . MYCHT . HAIF . AS . VE . VALD .

Literally rendered into modern English, it is, *If we did as we should, we might have as we would.* There can be no question, from the style and character of this inscription, that the building is of great antiquity, and has probably formed the residence of some ecclesiastic or noble of the court of James IV. It possesses an interest, however, from a more recent and humble occupant. Here was the printing establishment of Andrew Symson, a worthy successor of Chepman and Myllar, the first Scottish typographers, whose printing presses were worked within a hundred yards of this spot. Symson was a man of great learning and singular virtue, who, though one of the curates ejected at the Revolution, has escaped the detraction to which nearly all his fellow-sufferers were subjected. We have his own authority for stating that he received a University education, and was a *condisciple* of Alexander Earl of Galloway, by whose father he was presented to the parish of Kirkinner in Wigtonshire. Like all the early disciples of Caxton, he was an author as well as a printer; and his most elaborate work, a poem of great length, and of much more learned ingenuity than poetic merit, is



SYMSON THE PRINTER'S HOUSE.

COWGATE

announced in the preface as issued "from my printing-house at the foot of the Horse Wynd in the Cowgate, Feb. 16, 1705." It is entitled TRIPATRIARCHICON; *or the Lives of the Three Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, extracted forth of the sacred story, and digested into English verse.* Before this, however, he had acted as an amanuensis to the celebrated Lord Advocate, Sir George Mackenzie; and in 1699 he edited and published a new edition of Sir George's work on *The Laws and Customs of Scotland*, his presentation copy of which still exists in the Advocates' Library in good condition. It is elegantly bound in calf, and bears on the boards the inscription in gilt Roman characters: DONUM ANDREÆ SYMSON, AM. VD. MD.

The Horse Wynd no doubt derives its name from being almost the only descent from the southern suburbs by which a horse could safely approach the Cowgate; and as a spacious and pleasant thoroughfare, according to the ideas of an elder generation, it was one of the most fashionable localities of the town. About the middle of the wynd, on the west side, an elegant mansion, finished with a pediment in front surmounted with urns, and known in former years as Galloway House, was long the residence of Lady Catherine, Countess of Galloway, who formed the subject of one of Hamilton of Bangour's flattering poetical tributes. She is referred to in a different style in the *Ridotto of Holyrood House*, a satirical and very free ballad, ascribed to three witty ladies who were wont to bear their part in such gay scenes as it satirises.[1] Lady Galloway is there described as

> "a lady well known by her airs,
> Who ne'er goes to revel but after her prayers!"

She was noted among our precise grandames for her pomp and formality, and would order out her carriage to pay a ceremonious visit to some titled neighbour at the corner of the wynd. On occasions of high ceremonial, Mr. C. K. Sharpe adds, she drove with six horses, the first pair of which would be at the door of the house she was going to before her ladyship stepped into the coach. Here, too, resided Lord Kennet, Baron Stuart, and other fitting occupants of so aristocratic a quarter. Lord Covington, Lord Minto, and other titled dwellers in the Cowgate and the neighbouring alleys might also be mentioned, but enough has been said to illustrate the striking revolution that has taken place in this locality.

[1] The *Ridotto*, which affords a curious sample of the notions of propriety entertained by the fair wits of last century, was stated to be the joint production of Lady Bruce of Kinross, her sister-in-law the wife of J. R. Hepburn, Esq., of Keith and Riccarton, and Miss Jenny Denoon, their niece, who was counted a great wit in her own day. But Mr. C. K. Sharpe thus corrects the statement in a marginal note to the first edition of this work. "Miss Jenny, who had a humph on her back, wrote the whole. I have a letter of my aunt, Lady Murray, to my mother, stating this at my request. My aunt knew Jenny, and had heard her say so." Some of the most interesting stanzas of the *Ridotto* are quoted in the *Traditions of Edinburgh*, vol. ii. p. 39.

While Lady Galloway and her aristocratic neighbours rejoiced in the nearly unique advantages which the Horse Wynd supplied as a carriage-drive, and the denizens of the neighbouring alleys and closes found in the sedan-chair a convenient and even stately conveyance, the Old Parliament Stairs furnished ready access for judges, advocates, and clients of all ranks to the Parliament Close. A well in the open area at its foot was supplied from a spring that doubtless flowed there while still the neighbouring slope was bright with gorse and broom. Nearly opposite this court, now long since built over, a lofty range of handsome tenements forms the front of an enclosed quadrangle, which includes within its precincts the Tailors' Hall, by far the most stately of all the corporation halls, if we except St. Magdalen's Chapel, and one interestingly associated with important national and civic events. A handsome broad archway, considerably ornamented, forms the entrance through the front tenement to the quadrangle. This gateway is surmounted by an ornamental tablet, decorated with a huge pair of shears, the insignia of the craft, and bears the date 1644, with this elegant distich :

ALMIGHTIE GOD WHO FOVND
ED BVILT AND CROVND
THIS WORK WITH BLESSINGS
MAK IT TO ABOVND.

This building as seen from within the quadrangle has an exceedingly picturesque and imposing effect. Two lofty crow-stepped gables project, as uniform wings, into the court, and between them is the deep-browed arch leading from the Cowgate, above which rises a double tier of windows, surmounted by a handsome ornamental gable in the roof. All this, however, is the mere vestibule to the Tailors' Hall, which occupies the south and east sides of the court. Here, again, we find evidence that the craft were wont of old, as now, to extend their professional patronage to the muses. The accompanying vignette represents the Hall as it appeared prior to its receiving the addition of another story, to adapt it for its modern use as a brewer's granary. Even then, however, its original architectural effect had been greatly marred. The sculptured pediments had disappeared from the upper windows of the building, and the broad flight of steps had been removed from the main entrance, which is still seen, built up in the first floor ; for, alas, the glory has long since departed from the tailor craft of Edinburgh ! Over the ornamental pediment which surmounts the east wing of the building the insignia of the shears is again seen, with the date 1621 and this pious inscription: GOD . GIVE . THE . BLISING . TO . THE . TAILZER . CRAFT . IN THE . GOOD . TOVN . OF . EDINBURGH. On the lowest crow-step beside this is cut the professional device of three balls of thread, and over the main

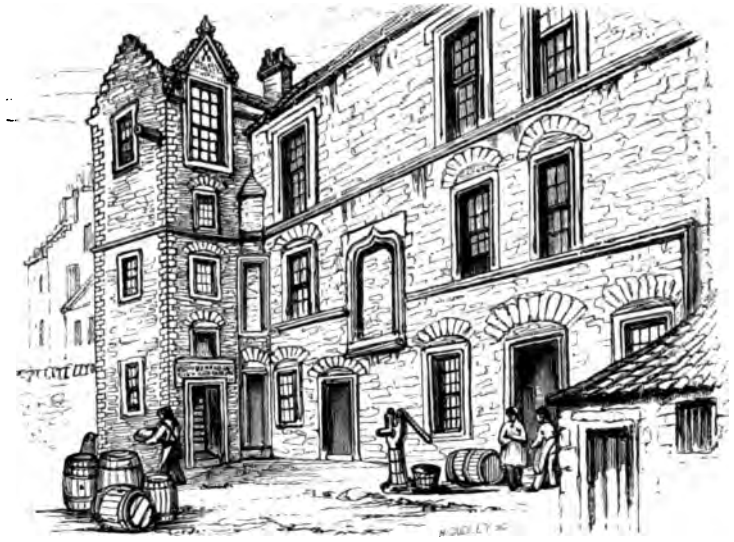
BROWN SQUARE.

FROM THE SOCIETY

entrance is the following elegant and laudable dedication of the hall and whole corporation as the temple and ministers of virtue. No wonder that devout citizens were scandalised when the former was diverted from its legitimate use to the profane orgies of the players:

TO . THE . GLORE . OF . GOD . AND . VERTEWIS . RENOWNE .
THE . CWMPANIE . OF . TAILZEOVRS . WITHIN . THIS . GOOD . TOVNE .
FOR . MEITING . OF . THAIR . CRAFT . THIS . HAL . HES . ERECTED .
WITH . TRUST . IN . GODS . GOODNES . TO . BE . BLIST . AND . PROTECTED .

Internally this venerable hall has been so entirely altered that no idea can now be formed of its original appearance. Not long after its erection



The Tailors' Corporation Hall, Cowgate.

it became the scene of very important movements preparatory to the great civil war. On the 27th February 1638 between two and three hundred ministers met there to prepare for the renewal of the Covenant, which was received with such striking demonstrations of popular sympathy on its presentation to the public in the Greyfriars' Church on the following day. We are informed by the Earl of Rothes, who took a prominent share in these proceedings, that he and the Earl of Loudoun were appointed by the nobles to meet the assembled clergy in the Tailors' Hall; and on that occasion the Commissioners of Presbyteries were first taken aside into a summer-house in the garden, and there dealt with effectually on the necessity of all obstacles to the renewal of the Covenant being withdrawn.[1] The same means were

[1] Lord Rothes' *Relation of Proceedings concerning the Affairs of the Kirk*, p. 72.

afterwards successfully resorted to for removing the doubts of all scrupulous brethren.[1] The garden which was the scene of these momentous discussions retained till very recently its early character; but now, divested of its shrubs and formal Dutch parterres, it is degraded into a depository for brewers' barrels. The same Corporation Hall was used in 1656 as the courthouse of the Scottish Commissioners appointed by Cromwell for the administration of the forfeited estates.[2] We have already referred to the very different purposes to which it was devoted in more recent times as the refuge of the Scottish drama. Ramsay prints in the *Tea-Table Miscellany* "Part of an Epilogue sung after the acting of the ORPHAN and GENTLE SHEPHERD in Tailors' Hall by a set of young gentlemen, January 22, 1729"; and Chambers has preserved in his *Minor Antiquities* the bill of fare presented in the same place on the 20th of March 1747, "By Desire of a Lady of Quality, for the Benefit of a Family in Distress"—probably one of the last performances there by a regular company. A handsome tenement stands immediately to the west of the Tailors' Lands, surmounted with two ornamental gables, bearing on them the initials of the builders, and over the main doorway the inscription:

O MAGNIFIE THE LORD WITH ME
R . H AND LET US EXALT HIS NAME TOGETHER. I . H
ANNO DOMINI 1643.

Over another door of the same tenement a sculptured tablet bears the device of two sledmen carrying a barrel between them, by means of a pole resting on the shoulder of each, technically styled a *sting and ling*. It is cleverly executed, and appears from the character and workmanship to be coeval with the date of the building in which it is placed, although the purposes to which the neighbouring property is now applied might suggest a much more recent origin.[3] Various antique dwellings of considerable diversity of character remain to the westward of this, all exhibiting symptoms of "having seen better days." The last of these, before we arrive at the arches of George IV Bridge, is another of the old ecclesiastical mansions of the Cowgate. It is described in an early title-deed as "some time pertaining to umq^k^ Hew M'Gill, prebender of Corstorphine," and, not improbably, a relative of the ancestors of David Macgill of Cranstoun-Riddel, King's

[1] Lord Rothes' *Relation of Proceedings concerning the Affairs of the Kirk*, p. 79: "Upon Thursday the first of March, Rothes, Lindsay, and Loudoun, and sum of them, went down to Tailyours Hall, wher the ministers mett; and becaus sum wer come to toune since Tuysday last who had sum doubts, efter that they who had bein formerlie resolved wer entered to subscryve, the noblemen went with these others to the yaird, and resolved their doubts; so that towards thrie hundred ministers subscryved that night. That day the commissioners of burrowes subscryved also."

[2] Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 180.

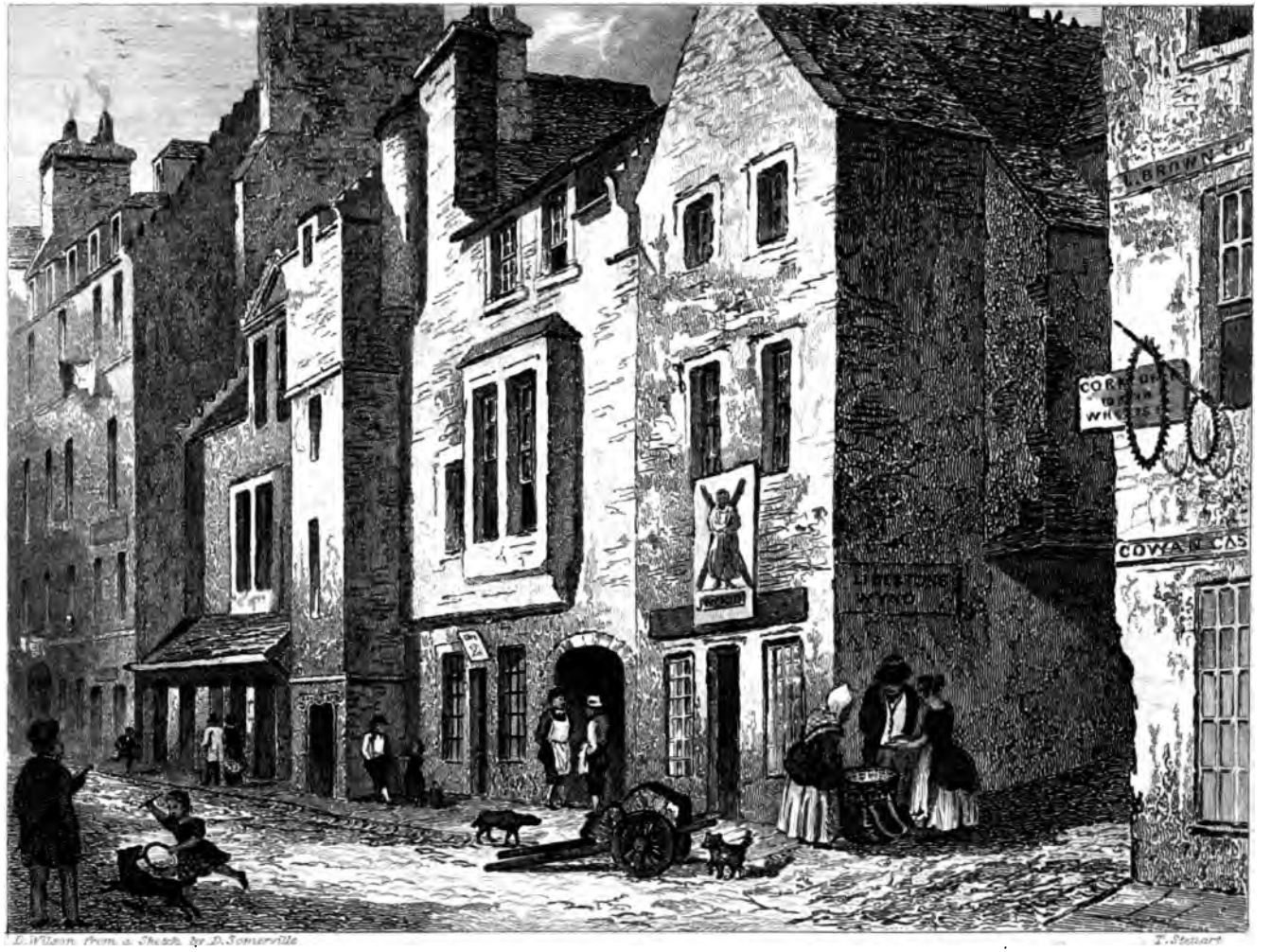
[3] At Society, in the immediate neighbourhood, a company of brewers was established so early as 1508. *Hist. of King James the Sext*, p. 347.

Advocate to James VI, who is said to have died of grief on Sir Thomas Hamilton, the royal favourite, afterwards created Earl of Melrose and Haddington, being appointed his colleague. We find, at least, that the property immediately adjoining it, now demolished, belonged to that family, and came afterwards into the possession of his rival. The operations of the Improvements Commission were no less effectual in the demolition of interesting relics of antiquity in the Cowgate than elsewhere. Indeed, if we except the old Mint and the venerable Chapel of St. Magdalene, no other site could have been chosen for the new bridge where their proceedings would have been so destructive. On the ground now occupied by its southern piers formerly stood Merchant's Court, a large area enclosed on three sides by antique buildings in a plain but massive style of architecture, and containing internally finely stuccoed ceilings and handsome panelling, with other indications of former magnificence, suitable to the mansion of the celebrated Thomas Hamilton, first Earl of Haddington, the favourite of James VI, and one of the most eminent men of his day. Some curious anecdotes of TAM O' THE COWGATE, as the King facetiously styled his favourite, are preserved in the traditions of Edinburgh, derived from the descendants of the sagacious old peer; and many others that are recorded of him suffice to confirm the character he enjoyed for shrewd wit and eminent ability. Directly opposite to this, a building, characterised by remarkable architectural features, attracted the special attention of the local antiquary. Tradition, which represented the old Earl of Haddington's mansion as having been the residence of the French embassy in the reign of Queen Mary, had assigned to this antique fabric the name, retained in the accompanying engraving, of "The French Ambassador's Chapel." An ornamental pediment, which surmounted its western wing, was decorated with the heads of the twelve Apostles, rudely sculptured along the outer cornice; and on the top was a figure seated astride, with the legs extended on either side of the cornice. It was supposed to have been designed as a representation of our Saviour, but the upper part of the figure had long been broken away. On the demolition of the building, this pediment, as well as the sculptured lintel of the main doorway, and other ornamental portions of the edifice, were removed to Coates House, and are now built into different parts of the north wing of that old mansion. But the sculpture which surmounted the entrance of this curious building attracted even more notice than its singular pediment; for, while the one was adorned with the sacred emblems of the Apostles and the figure of our Saviour, the other was believed to exhibit no less mysterious and horrible a guardian than a *Warwolf*. It was, in truth, with its motto, SPERAVI ET INVENI, no unmeet representative of Bunyan's Wicket Gate, with a hideous monster at the door, enough to frighten poor Mercy into a swoon, and nothing but Christian

charity and apostolic graces within; though the latter, it must be confessed, did not include that of beauty. "I shall end here four-footed beasts," says Nisbet, "only mentioning one of a monstrous form carried with us. Its body is like a wolf, having four feet with long toes and a tail; it is headed like a man—called in our books a warwolf *passant*,—and three stars in chief argent; which are also to be seen cut upon a stone above an old entry of a house in the Cowgate in Edinburgh, above the foot of Libberton's Wynd, which belonged formerly to the name of Dickison, which name seems to be from the Dicksons by the stars which they carry."[1] The destruction of Libberton's Wynd, the venerable alley that formed the chief thoroughfare to the High Street from this part of the Cowgate, involved in its ruin an old tenement situated behind the curious building described above, which possessed special claims to interest as the birthplace of Henry Mackenzie, "The Man of Feeling." It was pointed out by himself as the place of his nativity at a public meeting which he attended late in life. He resided at a later period, with his own wife and family, in his father's house, on one of the floors of *M'Lellan's Land*, a lofty tenement which forms the last in the range of houses on the north side of the Cowgate, where it joins the Grassmarket. This building acquires peculiar interest from the associations now connected with another of its tenants. Towards the middle of last century the first floor was occupied by a respectable clergyman's widow, Mrs. Syme, a sister of Principal Robertson, who maintained an establishment for the accommodation of a few boarders in this *genteel and eligible* quarter of the town. At that time Henry Brougham, Esq., of Brougham Hall, arrived in Edinburgh, and took up his quarters under Mrs. Syme's roof. He had wandered northward to seek in change of scene some alleviation of grief consequent on the death of his betrothed mistress. It chanced, however, that his hostess had a fair and witty daughter, with whom he fell in love; and, forgetting his early sorrows, he married her, and spent the remainder of his life in Edinburgh. The young couple resided for some time after their marriage in the old lady's house in the Cowgate; thereafter removing to No. 19 St. Andrew Square, Henry Brougham, the future Lord Chancellor of England, was born there in the year 1779. The elder Brougham lies buried in Restalrig churchyard.

To the east of M'Lellan's Land, almost directly opposite to St. Magdalene's Chapel, a large heavy-looking old mansion faces the street, with a broad arched gateway opening into an enclosed court, and two entrances from the street to the interior of the mansion, each of them surmounted with

[1] Nisbet's *Heraldry*, vol. i. p. 335. The shield, however, so far differs from Nisbet's description that it bears a *crescent between two stars* in chief. But no higher authority than that of the old herald could be quoted, and so the Warwolf of the Cowgate is beyond cavil; though probably the sculptor was only aiming at the monkey of the Dicksons' arms.



D. Wilson. from a Sketch. by D. Somerville. T. Stewart.

FRENCH AMBASSADOR'S CHAPEL.

COWGATE. TAKEN DOWN 1829.

its appropriate legend. A handsome but wofully dilapidated oaken staircase remains within, and the interior exhibits other traces of bygone splendour, amid the shreds and tatters of poverty that form the chief tapestry of the old halls of the Cowgate in modern days. This extensive tenement is the mansion built by the celebrated Sir Thomas Hope, king's advocate for Charles I, but, nevertheless, one of the foremost among those who organised the opposition to that monarch's schemes for remodelling the Scottish Church, which led at length to the great civil war. It is decorated with inscriptions ingeniously interblending the initials of the owner with its enigmatic mottoes, or fashioning the letters of his name into an apt maxim for the lintel. Over the east doorway is inscribed TECVM HABITA. 1616. The selection was no doubt prompted in part by the initials T. H.; though the sententious aptness of the motto was no less kept in view. Literally "Live with yourself," it may be fitly rendered "Keep your own counsel," and as such was well suited to its astute carver. It is apparently taken from the last line of the fourth Satire of Persius, "Tecum habita; noris, quam sit tibi curta supellex," which Professor Connington paraphrases, "Be true to yourself, and learn your own weakness." The lintel over the principal entrance bears the equally laconic motto, AT HOSPES HVMO, a devout expression of humility borrowed from Psalm cxix, which, according to an old form of the family name, resolves itself into an anagram of that of the builder of the Cowgate mansion.[1] The philosophy of the transposed letters of his name seems to acquire a new force in the degradation that has befallen the dwelling-place of the crafty statesman, wherein he schemed the overthrow of the throne and government. In this ancient mansion, in all probability, the bold councils were held that first checked Charles I, and gave confidence to those who were already murmuring against his impolitic measures. Here too we may with confidence presume the National Covenant to have been debated, and the whole scheme of policy matured by which the unhappy monarch found himself foiled alike in the Parliament, the Assembly, and in the decisive battle of Longmarston Moor. In the same house Mary, Countess of Mar, daughter of Esme, Duke of Lennox, died on the 11th of May 1644.[2] The

[1] "If the house near Cowgeat-head, north syde that street, was built by Sir Thomas Hope, as is supposed, the inscription upon one of the lintall stones supports this etymologie [viz. that the Hopes derive their name from *Houblon* the hop-plant, and not from *Esperance*, the virtue of the mind]—for the anagram is *At Hospes Humo*, and has all the letters of Thomas Houpe."—*Coltness Collections*, Maitland Club, p. 16.

[2] Sir Thomas Hope's *Diary*, p. 205. The "Extracts from the Countess of Mar's Household Book," by C. K. Sharpe, Esq., contains many very curious local allusions, *e.g.* "Jan. 7, 1639.—Given to the poor at Nidries wynd head, as my Lady cam from the Treasurer deputes [Lord Carmichael], 6 sh. Aug. 1641.—Payit to the custome of the Watergate for ten horses that enterit with my La. carryage, 10d. 6 Sept.—To the gardener in ye Abay yard who presentit to my Laidy ane flour, 6 sh. 16 Sept.—Payit for twa torches to lighten on my Laidy to the Court with my Laidy Marquesse of Huntlie, 24 sh. 1641.—5 Oct^{r} y^{t} day to ye Abay Kirk broad, as my Laidy went to the sermon, 6 sh.," etc.

neighbouring courts and alleys were the abodes of rank and fashion suited to such a vicinage, and even now retain some faint traces of their vanished splendour. Both Bailie's Court, at one time the residence of Lord Kennet, and Allison's Close, which a few years ago was one of the most picturesque alleys in the Cowgate, are decorated at their entrances with passages selected from the Psalms, a custom that superseded the older mottoes towards the latter end of the seventeenth century. The inscription over the entrance to the latter is: IN MY DISTRESS I CRIED UNTO THE LORD AND HE HEARD ME. DELIVER MY SOUL O LORD FROM LYING LIPS AND FROM A DECEITFUL TONGUE. Psalm cxx. Several tenements of considerable antiquity and great variety of character lie immediately to the east of this close, and, in particular, one old timber-fronted land, with the rude unglazed loopholes, or *shot windows*, which were doubtless the usual substitute with our simple forefathers for the comfortable glazed sash that now admits the morning beams to the meanest dwelling. Gawin Douglas, in his prologue to the seventh book of the *Æneid*, which contains a description of winter, warned that the "day is dawing" by the whistling of a *sorry gled*, and glancing through

> "A schot wyndo onschet, a litill on char,
> Persavyt the mornyng bla, wan, and har."

Douglas, at the time he undertook his vigorous translation of Virgil, was provost of the Collegiate Church of St. Giles; and no more graphic evidence can be desired in illustration of the general prevalence of this rude device throughout the Scottish capital during the prosperous era of the reign of James IV than the manner in which he describes the keen wintry prospect espied through his half-open shutter, along with the comfortable picture of his own blazing hearth, where he solaces himself by the resumption of his pleasing task:

> "The dew-droppis congelit on stibbill and rynd,
> And scharp hailstanys mortfundeit of kynd,
> Hoppand on the thak and on the causay by:
> The schot I closit, and drew inwart in hy,
> Chyvirrand for cald, the sesson was so snell,
> Schupe with hayt flambe to fleym the freezyng fell.
> And as I bownyt me to the fyre me by,
> Baith up and down the hows I dyd aspy:
> And seeand Virgill on ane lettron stand,
> To write onone I hynt a pen in hand."

Another picturesque tenement in the same neighbourhood is Palfrey's, or the King's Head Inn, a fine antique stone land built about the reign of Charles I. An inner court is enclosed by the buildings behind, and it long remained one of the best-frequented inns of old Edinburgh, being situated

nearly at the junction of two of the principal approaches to the town from the south and west. But this was the use assigned to it in later days. From the style and apparent age of the building there can be little question that its original occupants ranked among the old Scottish aristocracy.

In making the excavations necessary for the erection of a suite of additional court-rooms for the accommodation of the Lords Ordinary, built to the south of the old Parliament Hall towards the close of 1844, some curious discoveries were made, tending to illustrate the changes that have been effected on the Cowgate during the last four centuries. In the space cleared by the workmen, on the site of the Old Parliament Stairs, a considerable fragment of the first city wall was laid bare: a solid and substantial mass of masonry, very different from the hasty superstructure of 1513. On the sloping ground to the south of this, at about fourteen feet below the surface, a range of oaken coffins were found lying close together, and containing human remains. In one skull the brain remained so fresh as to show the vermicular form of surface, although the ancient churchyard of St. Giles, of which these were doubtless some of the latest occupants, had ceased to be used as a place of sepulture since the grant of the Greyfriars' gardens for that purpose in 1566. The form of the coffins was curious, being quite straight at the sides, but with their lids rising into a ridge in the centre, and in some degree resembling the stone coffins of an earlier era. During the same operations the workmen found beyond the old city wall, and at a depth of eighteen feet below the level of the present Cowgate, a common-shaped barrel, about six feet high, standing upright, imbedded eighteen inches in a stratum of blue clay, and with a massive stone beside it. The appearance of the whole suggested the idea that the barrel had been so placed to collect the rain-water from the eaves of a neighbouring house, and with a stepping-stone to enable any one to reach its contents. At a little distance from this, to the westward, and about the same depth, a large copper vessel was found, measuring fully eighteen inches in diameter by six inches deep. This interesting relic is now deposited in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries, along with some portions of the barrel staves, and there can be no question that both had formed at a very remote period part of the household gear of a citizen of note. The size of the copper vessel is of itself a proof of its owner's wealth. But the most curious inference derived from those discoveries is the evidence they afford of the gradual rising of the street in the course of ages. Some years before a pavement was discovered, about twelve feet below the surface, in digging towards the east end of the Cowgate for a large drain; and here domestic utensils at a still lower level prove how unceasing must have been the progress of this phenomenon, common to all ancient cities. From the want of police regulations in the middle ages, refuse and rubbish accumulated on the street, and became

trodden down into a firm soil, until even pavements were lost sight of, and later buildings were adapted to the new level.[1]

In the ancient title-deeds of Merchant's Court, already referred to as the mansion of the Earl of Haddington, it is described as "that great lodging, with the yaird, well, closs, and per^ts^ thereof, lying betwixt ye lands pertaining to umq^le^ Wm. Speed, bailie, and ane certain trance regal, leading to ye Grayfrer's Port, on ye west. The arable land, or croft of the Sisters of ye Nuns of ye Sheyns, on ye south," etc. On a part of this ground lying to the south of the Cowgate, and belonging to the Convent of St. Catherine de Sienna, a corporation was established so early as 1598 for the brewing of ale and beer. The name *Society*, which still pertains to this part of the town, preserves a record of this ancient company of brewers, and from the same cause the neighbouring Greyfriars or Bristow Port is frequently styled Society Port.[2] Between this and the Cowgate lies the once fashionable district which a correspondent of the *Edinburgh Advertiser* in 1764 styles "that very elegant square, called Brown Square," and which he thinks wants nothing to complete its beauty but "an elegant statue of his majesty in the middle!" Such a project might not now seem so extravagant, since the improvers of the neighbourhood have swept away the west side of it, and thrown it open to the great public thoroughfare of George IV Bridge; but at that time it was a little square area not much larger than many a gentleman's stable-yard, with the chief approach to it by a *pend* or archway from the head of the Candlemaker Row. Rank and fashion, however, resorted to the admired locality, while it was still more worthy of note as a haunt of the muses. Here was the residence of Dr. Austin, a fashionable physician of last century, but interesting to us still in relation to Scottish song. He was the accepted lover of a Perthshire beauty, Miss Jeanie Drummond, a daughter of the Laird of Megginch, whose charms were celebrated in a long-forgotten song. Thompson preserves the line, recalled by an old lady of his acquaintance:

"Bonnie Jeanie Drummond, she towers aboon them a'."

It was probably the work of her lover. But her constancy was not proof against the allurements of rank and title. James, second Duke of Athol,

[1] Vide *Scotsman*, 16th November 1844.

[2] "The foundation and building of the howssis for aill and beir brewing, besyd the Grayfrier Port, callit the Societie, was begun in the yeir of God, 1598."—*Hist. of King James the Sext.* p. 374. "Ap. 26, 1598. In ye beginning of yis moneth, the Societie begun to y^r^ work at the Gray Friar Kirk."—Birrell's *Diary*. A curious fragment of the old town wall remains to the south of Society buildings, and one of them, built upon it, is a singular and unique specimen of early architecture, wrought in ornamental panels between the windows, and with deep eaves to the roof, somewhat in the style of the old brick and timber fronts common at Canterbury and other ancient English towns. Adjoining this is a long-established tavern, which still bore the quaint name of the *Hole in the Wall*, till its demolition in 1851.

though old and personally unattractive, offered her the rank of a Duchess, and the fickle beauty forswore her plighted troth. Her disconsolate lover solaced his grief by writing the fine song, "For lack of gold she has left me," in which he vows:

"No cruel fair shall ever move
My injured heart again to love;
Through distant climates I must rove,
Since Jeanie she has left me.

"Ye powers above, I to your care
Resign my faithless, lovely fair;
Your choicest blessings be her share,
Though she has ever left me."

The old Duke died, leaving a dowager without issue, and the widowed beauty let her old lover know that his "faithless, lovely fair" was open to a renewal of his suit. But he made no response. They had parted "for empty titles," and the charm was broken. His own vows to the muse he treated lightly enough; for, "having given his woes an airing in song," he married in 1754 the Honourable Anne Sempill, by whom he had a numerous family. The dowager afterwards wedded Lord Adam Gordon, Commander of the Forces in Scotland, and died at Holyrood Palace in 1795. Dr. Austin's residence is a house still standing, which formed the north-west corner of Brown Square. A few doors from this, in the building on the west side through which the arched entry led into Candlemaker Row, dwelt for above twenty years Miss Jeanie Elliot, the author of the version of the "Flowers o' the Forest" beginning "I've heard them lilting at the ewe-milking." She was a daughter of Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, and is described by a contemporary as "a remarkably agreeable old maiden lady, with a prodigious fund of Scottish anecdote." It is added as worthy of record that she was perhaps the only lady of her time in Edinburgh who had her own sedan-chair, which was kept in her lobby. A view of her house is given in the *Reminiscences of Old Edinburgh*, along with some recollections of the poetess, chiefly derived from Mr. Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe. Henry Mackenzie, another of the literary celebrities of Brown Square, first took up house for himself in the middle tenement, still standing on the south side, while the celebrated Lord Woodhouselee occupied one of those recently demolished. The middle house on the north side, a large and commodious mansion, still retains abundant traces of former grandeur. The large drawing-room on the first floor especially is decorated with a series of landscapes, interspersed with floral groups and other fancy devices, evidently in imitation of the painted chamber at Milton House, though the work of a less skilful artist. This was the residence of Sir Thomas Miller, of Barskimming and Glenlee, Bart., Lord President of the Court of Session,

who died there in 1789. He was succeeded in it by his son, Sir William, promoted to the bench under the title of Lord Glenlee, and who, when all other claimants to rank or gentility had long deserted every nook of the old town, resisted the fashionable tide of emigration, and retained this as his town mansion till his death in 1846. Indeed, such was the attachment of this venerable judge to his old dwelling, that he rejected a handsome offer for the reversion of it, because the proposing purchaser, who designed converting it into a printing-office, refused to become bound to preserve the paintings on its walls.

Gothic Niche, College Wynd.

CHAPTER IX

THE WEST BOW AND SUBURBS

Major Weir's House.

IN the centre of the ancient city there stood, till a few years since, a strange, crooked, steep, and altogether singular and picturesque avenue from the High Street to the low valley on the south, in which the more ancient extensions of the once circumscribed Scottish capital were reared. Scarcely anything can be conceived more curious and whimsically grotesque than the array of irregular stone gables and timber galleries, that seemed as if jostling one another for room along the steep and narrow thoroughfare; while the busy throng were toiling up or hurrying down its precipitous pathways, amid the ceaseless din of braziers' and tinsmiths' hammers, for which it was famed. The modern visitor who now sees the *Bowhead*, an open area nearly on a level with the Castle drawbridge, and then by gradual and easy descent of long flights of stairs, and the more gentle modern slope of Victoria Street, at length reaches *The Bowfoot Well* in the Grassmarket, will hardly be persuaded that between those two widely different levels there extended only a few years since a thoroughfare crowded with antique tenements, quaint inscrip-

tions, and still more strange and interesting associations, unmatched in its historic and traditionary memories by any other spot of the curious old capital whose memories we seek to revive. Here were the Templar Lands, with their antique gables surmounted by the cross that marked them out as sacred from the enforcement of civic corporation laws, and with their old-world associations with the Knights of St. John. Here was the strange old timber-fronted tenement where rank and beauty held their assemblies in the olden time. Here was the Provost's lodging where Prince Charles and his elated counsellors were entertained in 1745; and adjoining it there remained till the last a memento of his royal ancestor James the Second's massive wall, and of the old Port or *Bow* whereat the magistrates were wont to present the silver keys, with many a quaint and costly ceremonial, to each monarch who entered his Scottish capital in state. Down this same steep the confessors of the Covenant were hurried to execution. Here too was the old-fashioned fore stair over which, amazed and stupefied, a youth who long after sat on the bench under the title of Lord Monboddo, gazed as the wretched Porteous was dragged to the scene of his crime on the night of the 7th September 1736; and near by stood the booth at which the rioters paused, and with ostentatious deliberation purchased the rope wherewith he was hung. Nor must we forget, among its most durable memorabilia, the wizards and ghosts who claimed possessions in its mysterious alleys, maintaining their rights in defiance of the *march of intellect*, and only violently ejected at last when their habitations were tumbled about their ears.

This curious zigzag steep was undoubtedly one of the most ancient streets in the old town, and probably existed as a roadway to the Castle while Edwinsburgh was comprised in a few mud and straw huts scattered along the higher slope. Enough still remains of it to show how singularly picturesque and varied were the tenements with which it once abounded. At the corner of the Lawnmarket is an antique fabric, reared ere Newton's law of gravitation was dreamt of, and seeming rather like one of the mansions of Laputa, whose builders had discovered the art of constructing houses from the chimney-tops downward! A range of slim wooden posts sustains a pile that at every successive story shoots farther into the street, until it bears some resemblance to an inverted pyramid. It is a fine example of an old burgher dwelling. The gables and eaves of its north front, which appear in the engraving of the Weigh-House, are richly carved, and the whole forms a remarkably striking specimen, the finest that now remains, of an ancient *timber land*. Next comes a *stone land*, with a handsome polished ashlar front and gabled attics of the time of Charles I. Irregular string-courses decorate the walls, and a shield on the lowest crow-step bears the initials of its first proprietors, I. O., I. B., with a curious merchant's mark between. A little lower down, in one of the numerous

Drawn by [illegible]

Etched by T. Stewart.

HEAD OF WEST BOW.

LAWN MARKET.

supplementary recesses that added to the contortions of this strangely crooked thoroughfare, a handsomely sculptured doorway meets the view, now greatly dilapidated and time-worn. It is, nevertheless, no older than the beginning of the seventeenth century, though occupying the site of an earlier building, mentioned in the *Inventar of Pious Donations*, under date 1541, as St. James's Altar Land. Though receding from the adjoining building, its stone turnpike projects considerably beyond the tenement to which it belongs, so numerous were once the crooks of the Bow, where every tenement seemed to take up its own independent standing, indifferent to the position of its neighbours. On a curiously formed dormer window which surmounts the staircase the partially defaced city motto appears. Over the doorway below a large shield in the centre of the lintel bears the Williamson arms, with this inscription and date on either side, SOLI . DEO . HONOR . ET . GLORIA . D . W . 1 . 6 . 0 . 4 . The initials are those of David Williamson, a wealthy burgess in the time of James VI. But the old stair once possessed—or was believed to possess,—strange properties which would seem to imply that such sacred legends as that which adorns its lintel were not always effectual in guarding the thresholds, over which they were inscribed as charms, against the approach of evil. A low vaulted passage immediately adjoining it leads through the tall tenement to a narrow court, and a solitary and desolate abode, once the dwelling-place of the notorious Major Weir. The vignette at the head of this chapter shows the aspect of the unhallowed lodging, looking across its little court towards the Bow. But the wizard had cast his spell over the neighbouring stair, for old citizens who have ceased to tempt such giddy steeps affirm that those who ascended it of yore felt as if they were going down. We have tried the ascent, and —recommend the sceptical to do the same; happily the old wizard's spells have defied even an Improvements Commission to raze his haunted dwelling to the ground.[1]

No other story of witchcraft and necromancy ever left so deep-rooted an impression on the popular mind as that of Major Weir; nor was any spot ever more celebrated in the annals of sorcery than the little court at the head of the Bow, where the wizard and his sister dwelt. It appears, however, that he had long lodged in the Cowgate before he took up house for himself, as we learn from that curious old book *Ravaillac Redivivus* that Mitchell, the fanatic assassin who attempted the life of Archbishop Sharp in 1668, "afterwards came to Edinburgh, where he lived some years

[1] From some allusions to an apparition that disappeared in a close a little lower down, and which is given farther on, from *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*, it has been frequently affirmed of late that Major Weir's house was among the tenements demolished in 1836, but popular tradition is supported by legal documentary evidence in fixing on the house described in the text. *Vide* vol. i. p. 217. Much of Sinclair's account of the Major appears to be taken nearly verbatim from a MS. life in Fraser's *Providential Passages*, Advocates' Library, dated 1670, the year of his execution.

in a widow's house, called Mrs. Grissald Whitford, who dwelt in the Cowgat, and with whom that dishonour of mankind, Major Weir, was boarded at the same time."[1] Unfortunately Widow Whitford's house is no longer known, as we can scarce doubt that the lodging of such a pair must still be haunted by some awfully significant memorial of their former abode. Whatever was his inducement to remove to his famed dwelling in the West Bow, it was only beseeming its character as a favourite haunt of the most zealous Presbyterians that one who at that time stood in eminent repute for his sanctity should take up his abode in the very midst of "the Bowhead Saints," as the Cavalier wits of his time delighted to call them.

The reputation of this prince of Scottish wizards rests on no obscure allusions in the legends of sorcery and superstition. His history has been recorded by contemporary annalists with all the minuteness of awe-struck credulity and gossiping wonder, and has since been substantiated, as an article of the vulgar creed, by numerous supernatural evidences in corroboration of its wildest dittays. Major Weir was the son of a Clydesdale proprietor, and served, according to Professor Sinclair, as a lieutenant in Ireland against the insurgents of 1641. On his settling in Edinburgh he entered the town-guard, where he afterwards rose to the rank of major. According to his contemporary, Master James Fraser, minister at Wardlaw, who saw him at Edinburgh in 1660, "his garb was still a cloak, and somewhat dark, and he never went without his staff. He was a tall black man, and ordinarily looked down to the ground; a grim countenance, and a big nose. At length he became so notourly regarded among the Presbyterian strict sect that if four met together, be sure Major Weir was one, and at private meetings he prayed to admiration, which made many of that stamp court his converse. He never married, but lived in a private lodging with his sister, Grizel Weir. Many resorted to his house to hear him pray and join with him; but it was observed that he could not officiate in any holy duty without the black staff, or rod, in his hand, and leaning upon it, which made those who heard him pray admire his flood in prayer, his ready extemporary expression, his heavenly gesture; so that he was thought more angel than man, and was termed by some of the holy sisters ordinarily *Angelical Thomas*."[2] His magical black staff bore a no less marvellous character than the Major himself. According to veracious tradition, it was no uncommon thing for the neighbours to see it step in and tap at their counters on some errand of its master, or running before him with a lantern as he went out on nocturnal business and gravely walked down the Lawn-market behind this mysterious link-boy.

The Major, in fact, had made a compact with the Devil, of which this was part payment; but the foul fiend, as usual, overreached his dupe. He

[1] *Ravaillac Redivivus*, p. 12. [2] Fraser's *Providential Passages*; MS. Advocates' Library.

THE WEST BOW.

ENTRANCE TO MAJOR WEIR'S HOUSE.

had engaged, it would seem, to keep him scathless from all dangers but one *burn*. The accidental naming of a Mr. Burn by the waiters of the Nether Bow Port, as he visited them in the course of his duty, threw him into a fit of terror that lasted for weeks, and the intervention of a water brook called Liberton Burn, in his way, was sufficient to make him turn back. "A year before he discovered himself, he took a sore sickness, during which he spake to all who visited him like an angel."[1] He found it, however, impossible longer to withstand the dreadful tortures of conscience; and summoning some of his neighbours to his bedside, he made voluntary confession of crimes which needed no supernatural accessories to render them more detestable. His confession seemed so incredible that the magistrates at first refused to take him into custody, but he was at length carried off to prison, and lodged in the Tolbooth along with his sister, the partner, if not the victim, of one of his crimes. As might have been expected, strange and supernatural appearances accompanied his seizure. The staff was secured by his sister's advice, and carried to prison along with them. A few dollars were also found, wrapped up in some rags, and on the latter being thrown into the fire, they danced in circles about the flames in an unwonted manner; while "another clout, found with some hard thing in it, which they threw into the fire likewise, circled and sparkled like gunpowder, and passing from the tunnel of the chimney, it gave a crack like a little cannon, to the amazement of all that were present."[2] The money was no less boisterous than its wrappers, and threatened to pull the bailie's house about his ears, who had taken it home with him. On being carried to prison, the Major sank into a dogged apathy, from which he never afterwards revived; furiously rejecting the ministrations of the clergymen who visited him, and replying only to their urgent exhortations with the despairing exclamation, "Torment me not before the time!" adding, with somewhat more philosophic foresight, according to another annalist, "that now, since he was to go to the Devil, he would not anger him."[3] He was tried 9th April 1670, and confessed himself guilty both of possible and impossible crimes. One of the witnesses examined on the trial, as appears from the *Criminal Record in the Register House of Edinburgh*, was "Maister John Sinclare, minister at Ormistoune," who deponed, among other strange items of evidence, that "having asked him if he had seen the deivell, he answered, that any fealling he ever hade of him was in the dark!"[4] There can be no doubt, indeed, that the wretched hypocrite, if not already insane, was driven desperate by the stings of conscience, and felt some relief in giving the Devil a share of his misdeeds. He was sentenced to be strangled and burnt, and he died as he had lived. When bound to the

[1] *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*, p. 146.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 147.
[3] Law's *Memorials*, p. 23.
[4] *Ibid.* note, p. 26.

stake, and with the rope about his neck, he was urged to say, "Lord be merciful to me," but he answered, "Let me alone, I will not; I have lived as a beast, and I must die as a beast." The Rev. Mr. Fraser adds: "His black staff was cast into the fire with him. Whatever incantation was in it, the persons present aver yt it gave rare turnings, and was long a burning, as also himself."

Sinclair's account of the Wizard of the Bow is mainly borrowed, without acknowledgment, from *Master James Fraser's Providential Passages*, where the sister is styled Grizel. But in Law's *Memorials*, as well as in *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*, she bears the name of Jean Weir. The reverend author of the latter work had set before himself the high aim of producing an antidote to atheism, and doubted not that such well-established disclosures of the Devil's dealings with his servitors would restore the waning faith of the most sceptical. He declines, with mysterious assumptions of propriety, to discuss what incantation was in the black staff that *suffered* along with its master. Nevertheless, he tells us enough to show it was no ordinary stick. On one of the ministers returning to the Tolbooth to inform Grizel Weir that her brother was burnt, "She believed nothing of it, but, after many attestations, she asked where his staff was, for it seems she knew that his strength and life lay therein. He told her it was burnt with him; whereupon, notwithstanding of her age, she nimbly, and in a furious rage, fell on her knees, uttering words horrible to be remembered." The Major's mother appears to have been accredited with witchcraft, as his sister, while in prison, declared, "She was persuaded her mother was a witch; 'for the secretest thing that either I myself, or any of the family could do, when once a mark appeared on her brow, she could tell it them, though done at a distance.' Being demanded what sort of a mark it was? She answered, 'I have some such like mark myself, when I please, on my forehead.' Whereupon she offered to uncover her head for visible satisfaction; the minister refusing to behold it, and forbidding any discovery, was earnestly requested by some spectators to allow the freedom; he yielded. She put back her headdress, and seeming to frown, there was seen an exact horse-shoe shaped for nails in her wrinkles, terrible enough, I assure you, to the stoutest beholder." This wretched being had unquestionably been driven mad by the cruelty of her brother, and to her ravings may be traced many of the strangest traditions of the West Bow. She described a fiery chariot that came for them, and took her and her brother on unearthly errands, while it remained invisible to others; and confessed to the possession of an enchanted wheel, by means of which she could far surpass any ordinary spinner. She was condemned to be hanged, and at the execution conducted herself in the same insane manner, struggling to throw off her clothes, that, as she expressed it, she might die with *all the shame she could*.

There were not lacking, however, credible witnesses to confirm the most extraordinary confessions of Grizel Weir. The Rev. George Sinclair relates, on the authority of a gentlewoman, a substantial merchant's wife, and a near neighbour of the Major, that "some few days before he discovered himself, this gentlewoman, coming from the Castlehill, where her husband's niece was lying in of a child, about midnight, perceived about the Bowhead three women in windows, shouting, laughing, and clapping their hands. The gentlewoman went forward, till just at Major Weir's door there arose, as from the street, a woman about the length of two ordinary females, and stepped forward. The gentlewoman, not as yet excessively feared, bid her maid step on, if by the lanthorn they could see what she was; but haste what they could, this long-legged spectre was still before them, moving her body with a vehement cahination, a great unmeasurable laughter. At this rate the two strove for place, till the giantess came to a narrow lane in the Bow, commonly called the Stinking Close, into which she turning, and the gentlewoman looking after her, perceived the close full of flaming torches, and as it had been a great multitude of people, stentoriously laughing, and gaping with tahees of laughter. . . . Though sick with fear, yet she went the next morning with her maid to view the noted places of her former night's walk, and at the close enquired who lived there? It was answered, Major Weir." It is not to be wondered that Major Weir's house should have been deserted after his death, and that many a strange sound and fearful sight should have testified to the secure hold the powers of darkness had established on this dwelling of their emissaries. The enchanted staff was believed to have returned to its post, and to wait as porter at the door. The hum of the necromantic wheel was heard at the dead of night; and the deserted mansion was sometimes seen blazing with the lights of some eldrich festival, when the Major and his sister were supposed to be entertaining the Prince of Darkness. There were not even wanting those, during the last century, who were affirmed to have seen the Major issue at midnight from the narrow close, mounted on a headless charger, and gallop off in a whirlwind of flame. Time, however, wrought its usual cure. The Major's visits became fewer and less ostentatious, until at length it was only at rare intervals that some midnight reveller, returning homeward through the deserted Bow, was startled by a dark and silent shadow that flitted across his path as he approached the haunted corner. The house is now used as a broker's store; but the only tenant, during well-nigh two centuries, who has had the hardihood to tempt the visions of the night within its walls, was scared by such horrible sights that no one is likely to molest the Major's privacy again. When all these *facts* are considered, it need not excite our wonder that his house should have escaped even the rabid assaults of an Improvements Commission, which raged so fiercely around the haunted domicile. It may

be reasonably questioned, indeed, whether, if workmen were found bold enough to raze it to the ground, it would not be found on the morrow, *in statu quo*, grimly frowning defiance on its baffled assailants!

Such are the associations with one little fragment of the Bow that still exists. Our remaining descriptions must be, alas! of things that were; and that appeared so hideous to the refined tastes of our civic reformers, that they have not grudged the cost of £400,000 to have them removed. Directly facing the low archway leading into Major Weir's Close stood the Old Assembly Rooms, bearing the date 1602; and described in the ancient title-deeds as "that tenement of land on the west side of the transe of the Over Bow, betwixt the land of umq^le^ Lord Ruthven on the north, and the King's auld wall on the south parts." Lord Ruthven's land was a substantial stone tenement of well-finished ashlar, extended, in accordance with the fashion of the sixteenth century, by overhanging timber galleries. It possessed, however, a peculiar and thrilling interest, if it was—as we conceive, from the date of the deed and the new title of his son, it must have been,—the mansion of the grim and merciless baron who stalked into the chamber of Queen Mary on that dire night of the 9th of March 1566, like the ghastly vision of death, and struck home his dagger into the royal favourite, whose murder he afterwards claimed to have chiefly contrived. A curious and valuable relic, apparently of its earlier proprietor, was discovered on the demolition of this ancient tenement. Between the ceiling and floor, in one of the apartments, a large and beautifully chased sword was found concealed, with the scabbard almost completely decayed, and the blade, which is of excellent temper, deeply corroded with rust about half-way towards the hilt. The point of it is broken off, but it still measures 32¼ inches long. The maker's name, WILHELM WIRSBERG, is inlaid in brass on the blade. His device,—seemingly a pair of pincers,—is engraved on both sides, surmounted by a coronet, and encircled on the one side with a motto, now partly defaced, and on the other with his name repeated, and the words *in. solingen.* Various other mottoes are engraved amid the ornamental work with which the blade is covered, such as *Vincere aut mori*, *Fide sed cui vide*, *Pro aris et focis*, and *Soli deo gloria.* This singularly curious and interesting relic was procured from the contractors at the time of its discovery, by Mr. Hugh Paton, our former publisher. The manner of its concealment and the fierce character of the old Lord Ruthven, within whose lodging it was discovered, may readily suggest to the fancy its having formed the instrument of some dark and bloody deed ere it was consigned to its strange hiding-place. From the title-deeds in possession of the Improvements Commission we recover evidence of another historical name, of old associated with the same locality. A house immediately to the north of Lord Ruthven's land is described as "formerly possessed by George Murray,

shoemaker; and which are proper parts and pertinents of that tenement of land which of old pertained to the Earl of Gowrie."

The appearance of the tenement, wherein the assemblies of fashion were held previous to 1720, was in curious contrast to its old aristocratic frequenters. Over the doorway of the projecting turnpike was inscribed the motto, IN DOMINO CONFIDO: the title of the eleventh Psalm; and above this, within an ornamental panel, the arms of the Somervilles were sculptured, with the initials P. S., J. W., and the date 1602. These are memorials of Peter Somerville, merchant, and "yin of the present bailies" in 1624: a wealthy burgher who possessed houses in different parts of the town; and whose son and heir, Bartholomew Somerville, one of the most liberal contributors towards the establishment of the infant University, has already been referred to in the account of the Lawnmarket. His picturesque old gabled tenement forms one of the chief features in the range of ancient lands facing the head of the Bow.

All beyond the Assembly building lay without the earliest town wall. A piece of its massive masonry remained as a part of the southern gable, and retained, till its demolition, one of the iron hooks on which the ancient gate had hung; though it must not be overlooked that this portal of the city was retained, like the modern Temple Bar, as the appointed scene of certain civic formalities, and long-established state ceremonials, for nearly two centuries after it had been supplanted in its military functions by the West Port. The zigzag course of the steep roadway here turned abruptly westward, and immediately beyond the remnant of the ancient gateway was the intricate mansion of Provost Stewart, where he entertained Prince Charles and some of his officers in 1745; and from whence he afforded them exit in mysterious fashion on the approach of a party despatched by General Guest with an urgent invitation for their company in the Castle.[1] The house was one of no mean note, and appears from its titles to have deserved the name of the Mansion House from the succession of civic dignitaries that dwelt within its walls. It is described as "that dwelling-house some time possessed by umq[le] Bailie George Clerk, merchant; afterwards by the Countess of Southesk; thereafter by Provost John Osborn; thereafter by Provost George Halliburton; and thereafter by the said Provost Archibald Stewart." Beyond this was an antique timber-fronted tenement, which formed of old the town mansion of Napier of Wrychtishousis; but which enjoyed a far more popular reputation, as containing the little booth from whence the rioters of 1736 procured the fatal rope with which Porteous was hanged. Some among our older readers will remember a quaint little Dutch manikin, with huge goggle eyes, and a bunch of flax in his hand, who presided over its threshold in later times. His history was traced for

[1] *Ante*, vol. i. p. 149.

considerably more than a century. He was imported from Holland, it is believed, soon after the accession of Queen Anne; and first did duty with spade in hand at a seedsman's door in the Canongate; from thence he passed to a grocer in the High Street. Soon after this he discarded the spade, and made his appearance in the Bow in his later character, where his antiquated costume consorted well with the old-fashioned neighbourhood. Since the destruction of his latest retreat, he has found a fit refuge in the Antiquarian Museum. On the opposite side of the street, the last tenement on the east side of the first turning, and situated, as its titles express, "without the place where the old bow stood," was popularly known as the *Clockmaker's Land.* It had been occupied in the reign of Charles II by Paul Romieu,[1] an ingenious *knockmaker*, who is believed to have been one of the French refugees compelled to forsake his native land on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In 1675, as appears from the records of the Corporation of Hammermen, a watch was, for the first time, added to the knockmaker's essay, previous to which date it is probable that watches were entirely imported. There remained on the front of this ancient tenement, till its demolition, some portions of a curious piece of mechanism which had formed the sign of its ingenious tenant. This was a gilt ball representing the moon, part of an astronomical toy, originally made to revolve by clockwork, and which enjoyed to the last a share of the admiration bestowed on the wonders of the Bow. Other and more curious erections had occupied the ground along this steep descent at an earlier period, when the secular clergy shared with the Templars the dwellings in the Bow. In the "Inventar of Pious Donations" a charter is recorded, bearing date 15th February 1541, whereby "Sir Thomas Ewing mortifies to a chaplain in St. Giles' Kirk an annual rent of twenty-six shillings out of Henry Spittal's land, at the Upper Bow, on the east side of ye transse yᵗof, betwixt Bartil Kairn's land on the south, *St. James Altar land* on the north, and the King's Street on the west." Below the *Clockmaker's Land* the tortuous thoroughfare turned suddenly at an acute angle, and presented along its devious steep a strange assemblage of fantastic timber and stone gables. Several of them were those strange relics of a forgotten order of things, the *Templars' Lands*; and one of them, with its timber ceilings curiously adorned with paintings in the style already described in the Guise palace, bore over its antique lintel the quaint legend in ornamental characters of an early date—

HE · YT · THOLIS · OVERCVMMIS

Behind the Templar Lands lay several steep, narrow, and gloomy closes, containing the most singular groups of huge, irregular, and diversified

[1] *Minor Antiquities.* Information derived fifty years ago (1833) from a man who was then eighty years of age.

tenements that could well be conceived. Here a crazy, stunted little timber dwelling, black with age; and beyond it a pile of masonry rising story above story from some murky profound, that left its chimneys scarcely rivalling those of its dwarfish neighbour after climbing thus far from their foundation in the depths below. One of those, engraved here under the name of "*The Haunted Close*," is the same in which the worthy gentlewoman, the neighbour of Major Weir, beheld the spectral giantess vanish in a blaze of fire, as she returned down the West Bow at the witching hour of night. The close, for all its wretched degradation, which had won for it the unsavoury title it retained to the last, still preserved some remains of ancient grandeur, as appears in our view, where an ornamental building is introduced, which had probably formed the summer-house of some neighbouring patrician's pleasure-grounds ere the locality acquired its unenviable distinction. The inventory of the tenants who were at length ejected by the inexorable Improvements Commissioners forms as strange a medley as ever congregated together in one locality. It is thus described: "All and hail these laigh houses lying in the said West Bow, in that close commonly called *the Stinking Close of Edinburgh*, some time possessed, the one thereof by John Edward, cobbler; another by Widow Mitchell; another by John Park, ballad crier; another by Christian Glass, eggwife; another by Duncan M'Lachlan, waterman; and another by Alexander Anderson, bluegown . . . ; and which shops, cellars, etc., are part of that tenement acquired by Sir William Menzies of Gladstanes, 29th April 1696."

Beyond the singular group of buildings thus huddled together, the Bow turned abruptly to the south, completing the Z-like form of the ancient thoroughfare. Here, again, and scattered among the antique tenements that surround the area of the Grassmarket, we find the gables and bartizans surmounted with the stone or iron cross that marked the privileged *Templars' Lands*. The powerful soldier-priests possessed at one time lands in every county, and in nearly every parish, in Scotland; and wherever they permitted houses to be erected thereon, they were required to bear the badge of their order, and to submit to the jurisdiction of no local court but that of their spiritual lords. When their possessions passed into secular hands at the Reformation, they retained their peculiar privileges and burdens; and their exemption from exclusive burghal restrictions was long a subject of heart-burning and discontent to the chartered corporations and the magistrates of Edinburgh. The Earl of Haddington is still Lord Superior of the Temple lands; and his representative used to hold Baron's Courts in them occasionally, until this *imperium in imperio* was abolished by the Act of 1746, which extinguished the ancient privileges of pit and gallows, and swept away a host of independent baronies all over the kingdom.

We cannot leave the West Bow, once the principal entry into the town,

without glancing at the magnificent pageants which it witnessed through successive centuries. Up this steep and narrow way, on a fair June day in 1449, James II rode in state, bringing his bride, Mary of Gueldres, from her lodging in the Convent of the Greyfriars. Here also have ridden James IV and his Queen, Margaret, the Rose of England, celebrated by Dunbar; James V, his Queen, Mary of Guise, and their fair and ill-fated daughter Queen Mary. Here, too, the latter rode in no joyous ceremonial, with Bothwell at her side and his rude Border spearmen closing around her; though they had thrown away their weapons as they approached the capital, that the ravished Queen might appear to her subjects as the arbiter of her own fate. To those who read aright the history of Queen Mary, few incidents in her life are more touching than when she rode up the Bow on this occasion, and turning her horse's head, was about to proceed towards her own Palace of Holyrood. It is the very culminating point of her career; but the die was already cast. Bothwell, who had assumed for the occasion the air of an obsequious courtier, now seized her horse's bridle, and she entered the Castle a captive and in his power. By the same street her son, James VI and his Queen, Anne of Denmark, made their ceremonious entries to the capital; and in like manner Charles I, Oliver Cromwell, and James VII, while Duke of York, accompanied by his Queen and daughter, afterwards Queen Anne, rode in state up this quaint approach, and through the old Scottish Temple Bar, into the upper town. Such are a few of the historic names associated with the ancient thoroughfare which we have seen so recklessly destroyed; and which, until its sudden doom was pronounced, seemed like a hale and vigorous octogenarian, that had defied the tooth of Time while all around was being transmuted by his touch.

On the lowest part of the declivity of the Bow, a handsome though somewhat heavy conduit, erected by Robert Milne in 1681, bears the name of the Bow-foot Well. Directly facing this, at the south-east angle of the Grassmarket, there stood of old the monastery of the Franciscans or Greyfriars, founded by James I. for the encouragement of learning. In obedience to an application from that monarch, the Vicar-General of the Order at Cologne sent over to Scotland some of the brethren under the guidance of Cornelius of Zurich, a scholar of great reputation; but such was the magnificence of the monastic buildings prepared for them that it required the persuasive influence of the Archbishop of St. Andrews to induce Cornelius to accept the office of Prior. That the monastery was a sumptuous foundation according to the times is proved by its being assigned for the temporary abode of the Princess Mary of Gueldres, who, immediately after her arrival at Leith in June 1449, proceeded on horseback, behind the Count de Vere, to her lodging in the Convent of the Greyfriars in Edinburgh; and there she was visited by her royal lover James II on the following

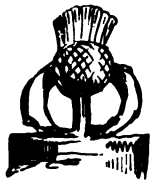
day.[1] A few years later it afforded an asylum to Henry VI of England when he fled to Scotland, accompanied by his heroic Queen, Margaret, and their son, Prince Edward, after the fatal battle of Towton. That a church formed a prominent feature of this royal foundation can hardly be doubted. We are indeed led to infer the existence both of a church and churchyard long before Queen Mary's grant of the gardens of the monastery for the latter purpose, from such allusions as the following in the *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 7th July 1571: "The haill merchandis, craftismen, and personis remanand within Edinburgh, maid thair moustaris in the *Gray Frear Kirk yaird*"; and, again, when Birrell in his *Diary*, 26th April 1598, refers to the "work at the *Gray Friar Kirke*," although the date of erection of the more modern church is only 1613. The exact site of the monastic buildings is proved from the titles of two large stone tenements which present their picturesque antique gables to the street immediately to the west of the entrance from the Cowgate. The western tenement is described as "lying within the burgh of Edinburgh, at the place called the Grayfreres," while the other is styled "that Temple tenement of land, lying at the head of the Cowgate, near the Cunzie nook, beside the Minor or Greyfriars on the east, and the common King's High Street on the north parts." Beyond this, in the Candlemaker Row, a curious little timber-fronted tenement appears, with its gable surmounted with the antique crow-steps previously described on the Mint buildings and elsewhere; an open gallery projects in front, and rude little shot-windows admit the light to the decayed and gloomy chambers within. This we presume to be the *Cunzie nook* referred to above: a place where the Mint had no doubt been established at some early period, possibly during some of the strange proceedings in the regency of Mary of Guise,[2] when the Lords of the Congregation "past to Halyrudhous, and tuik and intromettit with the irnis of the cunzehous."

The general aspect of the Grassmarket appears to have suffered little change for above two hundred years. One of the most modern erections on its southern side is that immediately to the west of the Templar Lands just described, which bears on a tablet over the entrance to Hunter's Close, ANNO · DOM · MDCLXXI. It is not likely to be soon lost sight of that from a dyer's pole in front of this old tenement Captain Porteous was hanged by his lynch-law judges, A.D. 1736. The long range of buildings that extend beyond this present as singular and varied a group of antique tenements as either artist or antiquary could desire. Finials of curious and

[1] *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 599.

[2] "Vpoun the 21 day of Julij [1559] James, commendatare of Sanctandrois, and Alexander, erle of Glencarne, with thair assistaris callit the congregatioun, past from Edinburgh to Halyrudhous, and thair tuik and intromettit with the irnis of the cunzehous, and brocht the same to the said burgh of Edinburgh, to the priour of Sanctandrois lugeing, being thairin."—*Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 269. Humble as this *nook* appears, it is possible that it may be a fragment of the Regent Murray's lodging.

grotesque shapes surmount the crow-stepped gables, and every variety of form and elevation diversifies the sky-line of their roofs and chimneys; while behind, the noble pile of Heriot's Hospital towers above them as a counterpart to the old Castle that rises majestically over the north side of the same area.[1] Many antique features are yet discernible here. Several of the older houses are built with bartizaned roofs and ornamental copings, designed to afford their inmates an uninterrupted view of the magnificent pageants that were wont of old to defile through the wide area below; or of the gloomy tragedies that were so frequently enacted there between the Restoration and the Revolution. One of those houses, which stands immediately to the west of Heriot's Bridge, exhibits a very perfect specimen of the antique style of window already frequently referred to. The folding shutters and transom of oak remain entire below, and the glass in the upper part is set in an ornamental pattern of lead. Still finer, though less perfect, specimens of the same early fashion remain in a tenement on the north side, bearing the date 1634. It forms the front building at the entrance to Plainstanes' Close, the name of which perpetuates the territorial designation of Francis Lowrie of Plainstanes, Baron Bailie of Portsburgh, who, in 1674, had a grant of arms: a cup holding a garland. An older bearer of the same has left them carved on the lintel of his doorway, as described below. A



[1] The careful and elaborate history of Heriot's Hospital, by Dr. Steven, renders further investigation of its memorials unnecessary. Tradition assigns to Inigo Jones the merit of having furnished the beautiful design for the Hospital, which is well worthy of his genius. If so, however, it has been carried out in a modified form, under the direction of more modern architects. The following entry occurs in the Hospital Records for 1675. "May 3.—There is a necessity that the steeple of the Hospital be finished, and a top put thereupon. Ro. Miln, Master Mason, to think on a drawing thereof, against the next council meeting." The master mason does not appear to have thought to good purpose, as we find recorded the following year: "July 10.—Deacon Sandilans to put a roof and top to the Hospital's steeple, according to the draught condescended upon be Sir William Bruce." In one of Captain Slezer's very accurate general views of Edinburgh, published towards the close of the 17th century, Heriot's Hospital is introduced as it then appeared, with the plain square tower over the gateway, and near to it the Old Greyfriars' Church, with the tower at the west end, as it stood previous to 1718, when the latter was accidentally blown up by gunpowder, which had been deposited there for safety. A view of the Hospital, by Gordon of Rothiemay, which was engraved in Holland before 1650, is believed to afford an accurate representation of the original design. The same is engraved in the fourth edition of Slezer's views, under the name of *Bogengicht*. In this view the tower is surmounted by a lofty and beautiful spire, carrying out the idea of contrast in form and elevation which appears in the rest of the design much more effectively than the dome which has been substituted for it. The large towers at the angles of the building appear in this view covered with ogee roofs, in more questionable taste. Several entries in the Hospital Records seem to imply that two of the four towers had been completed according to this idea, and afterwards altered. The same Records afford evidence of frequent deviations from the original design being sanctioned, even after such parts of the building were finished according to the plan.

handsome projecting turnpike stair bears over its entrance the inscription, BLISSET . BE . GOD . FOR . AL . IIIS . GIFTIS . with the initials, I. L. G. K. repeated on a neighbouring building at the foot of Castle Wynd, with the date 1637. In the former example the windows above retain the old oaken mullions and transoms richly carved in a variety of patterns. Another antique tenement to the east of this is finished with a bartizan and ornamental parapet, on the centre of which the badge of its ancient subjection to the Templar Knights appears, like a dagger struck into the roof, and left to serve as a memento of strife, in more peaceful times. The assignment of this locality as the appointed place for a weekly market dates from the year 1477, when James III appointed "all ald graith and ger to be usit and sald in the Friday Market before the Gray-Frers; alsa all qwyck bestis, ky, oxon, not to be brought in the town, bot under the wall fer west at oure stable."[1]

The town wall extended on the west from the Castle across the area of the market on the site latterly occupied by the Corn Exchange; and here stood the ancient gate of the city from whence the neighbouring suburb derived its name of the West Port. Like the other city gates, it was usually garnished with a few heads and dismembered limbs of malefactors and political offenders; and so essential were those appendages considered that Fountainhall, after recording the execution of three Covenanters in the Grassmarket in the year 1681, adds: "About eight dayes before this they had stollen away two of the heads which stood on the West Port of Edinburgh; the criminal lords, to supply that want, ordained two of thir criminalls' heads to be struck off, and to be affixed in ther place."[2] Here also was the scene of some of those quaint ceremonials wherewith our ancestors were wont to testify their loyal gratulations at the Sovereign's approach. James VI, on his first entry to the capital in 1579, was appropriately received at this gate by King Solomon; and here, in 1590, his Queen, Anne of Denmark, was welcomed in a Latin oration, and presented with the silver keys of the city in the accustomed manner, by an angel who descended in a globe from the battlements of the Port.[3] King James was again welcomed in still more costly fashion at the same spot, on his return to his native city in 1617; and the *Nymph Edina* waited there for his son, Charles I, in 1633, attended by beautiful damsels, and, with a brief congratulatory oration, presented the keys; leaving the burden of the welcome to the *Lady Caledonia*, who lay in wait for him at the corner of the Bow, and in "a copious speech," prepared by Drummond of Hawthornden in his most bombastic vein, congratulated His Majesty on his safe arrival.

The most interesting features of the burgh of Western Portsburgh have

[1] Charter of James III; Maitland, pp. 8, 9. [2] Fountainhall's *Historical Observes*, p. 30.
[3] *Ante*, vol. i. pp. 112, 114.

already been described in a previous chapter.[1] Many of the old buildings of its main street have been replaced of late years by plain unpretending erections. It still, however, has at least one venerable edifice of a picturesque character erected in the reign of Queen Mary by John Lowrie,[2] a substantial burgher, and a zealous adherent of the ancient faith in those ticklish times. On the sculptured lintel of its doorway is inscribed in large Roman characters this abbreviation of the common motto, SOLI DEO · H · G · with the date 1565; and in the centre, between the builder's initials, a large ornamental shield bears the heraldic device already referred to, a cup holding a garland: the armorial bearings of Sir Robert Lowrie of Maxweltoun and others of the name; but which was formerly described as a pot of lilies, one of the favourite emblems of the Virgin, and so assumed to be symbolic of the faith and loyalty of the old burgher.

The burgh of Easter Portsburgh, which is associated with its western neighbour under the same baron bailie, comprehends the Potterrow and adjoining district of Bristo, and includes several buildings of considerable interest, though not of great antiquity. One of these edifices was a singular specimen of the ancient *timber lands*, and differed in character from any example of that style of building that now remains. It bore the distinctive title of the *Mahogany Land*, an epithet popularly applied to the most ornamental timber erections in different parts of the town, and had undoubtedly existed at the time when the Collegiate Church of St. Mary stood in the neighbouring fields. Directly opposite to its site is a lofty building, erected, as appears from its title-deeds, in 1715, and which, we are informed by its proprietor, formed the lodging of the Earl of Morton. It has evidently been a mansion of some importance. A broad and handsome archway leads into an enclosed court, where there is cut, in unusually large letters, the inscription, BLISSET . BE . GOD . FOR . AL . HIS . GIFTIS . and a monogram, now undecipherable. Robert, twelfth Earl of Morton, succeeded to the title the same year in which the house was built, and was again succeeded by his brother George, appointed Vice-Admiral of Scotland in 1733. He died at Edinburgh in 1738, and was buried in the Greyfriars' churchyard. Other associations, however, far surpassing those of mere rank and ancient lineage, will make this locality long be regarded as a peculiarly interesting nook of the Scottish metropolis. Nearly at the point of junction of the Potterrow with Bristo Street—once one of the two great thoroughfares from the south,—a little irregular and desolate-looking court of antique buildings bears the name of General's Entry. The south and east sides of this quadrangle are formed by a highly decorated range of buildings. The crow-stepped gable at the south-east angle is surmounted by a curious old sun-dial, bearing the quaint punning moral, *We shall die all*;

[1] *Ante*, vol. i. pp. 177-179.

[2] *Traditions*, vol. i. p. 304.

and beyond this a series of sculptured dormer windows appear in the decorated style of the seventeenth century. On one of the sculptured pediments is a shield, bearing the heraldic device of a monkey, with three stars in chief: the arms of Dickson. It is surrounded by a border of rich Elizabethan scroll-work in high relief, and beyond this the initials J. D. The adjoining window bears as its principal ornament an ingenious monogram formed of large ornamental Roman characters. A tradition of old standing assigns this mansion as the residence of General Monk during his command in Scotland under Oliver Cromwell, and this is usually referred to as the origin of the present name of the locality; though, as will be seen, it is more probably due to a later noble military occupant. Nevertheless, the tradition is not altogether without some appearance of probability in support of it. The house, we believe, was erected by Sir James Dalrymple, afterwards Viscount Stair, justly regarded as the most eminent judge who ever presided on the Scottish bench. He is well known to have been a special favourite of General Monk, who frequently consulted him on matters of state, and recommended him to Cromwell in 1657 as the fittest person to be appointed a judge. Under these circumstances it may be inferred that Monk was a frequent visitor at General's Entry when he came to the capital from his headquarters at Dalkeith Palace. The old mansion continued to be the town residence of the noble family of Stair, until, like most others of the Scottish peers, they deserted their native capital soon after the abolition of our national Parliament by the Act of Union. It is not unlikely that the present name of the old court is due to the more recent residence there of John, second Earl of Stair, who served during the protracted campaigns of the Duke of Marlborough, and was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General soon after the bloody victory of Malplaquet. He shared in the fall of the great Duke, and retired from Court until the accession of George I, during which interval it is probable that the family mansion in the Potterrow formed the frequent abode of the disgraced favourite.

But General's Entry has associations of a later but not less interesting kind. Degradation and decay had long settled down on the old aristocratic haunt, when Clarinda wrote from the same place in 1788, in anticipation of a visit from the poet Burns, "I hope you'll *come a-foot*, even though you take a chair home. A chair is so uncommon a thing in our neighbourhood, it is apt to raise speculation; but they are all asleep by ten." The first interview between Mrs. M'Lehose, the romantic Clarinda, and her Sylvander took place at the house of Miss Nimmo, a mutual friend, who resided in Alison Square, Potterrow: an equally humble locality, and within a few paces of General's Entry; but which derives a greater interest from having been the place where the youthful poet Thomas Campbell lived for a time during his stay in Edinburgh. To appreciate the later associations of these scenes of

poetic inspiration and intellectual pleasures, the reader should rise from the perusal of the ardent and romantic correspondence of *Clarinda and Sylvander*, and proceed to visit the dusky little parlour on the first floor of the tenement in the Potterrow, where the poet was welcomed by the enthusiastic Clarinda. It is on the north side of General's Entry, and approached by a narrow turnpike stair, where the whole accommodations of Mrs M'Lehose consisted of a kitchen, bedroom, and the straitened parlour wherein she received the visits of the poet. In a view of "Clarinda's Lodging, General's Entry," given in the *Reminiscences of Old Edinburgh*, a bird's cage at the window indicates the room sacred to the meetings of Sylvander and his romantic correspondent. Here this young and beautiful woman resided with her infant children, and struggled against the pinching cares of poverty, and the worse sorrows created by an acutely sensitive mind. The emigration, however, of the gentry of the old town to the more fashionable dwellings beyond the North Loch had been very partially effected in 1788, and the contrast between the little parlour in General's Entry and the drawing-rooms of the poet's wealthier hosts was by no means so marked and striking as it afterwards became. Such are the strangely mingled associations of rank, historic fame, and genius with lowly worth and squalid poverty, which still linger around so many old nooks of the Scottish capital, and give so peculiar an interest to its scenes.

When Edgar's plan of Edinburgh was published in 1742, the old Flodden Wall still extended in an unbroken line from the tower at the junction of the Pleasance and Drummond Street to the Potterrow Port, or *Porta Figulina*, as it is styled in Gordon's Bird's Eye View of 1647. Nearly the whole area to the south of the wall, between the Pleasance and the Potterrow, still lay at that later date in gardens and open fields divided by hedgerows. But the completion of the North Bridge in 1772 began the work of opening up a great central avenue destined to supersede the ancient thoroughfare skirting the east wall of the city by Leith Wynd, St. Mary's Wynd, and the Pleasance, better fitted for riders and pack-horses than the wheeled vehicles of later days. Nicolson Street, which forms an important link in the new highway, was constructed on a portion of the vacant area known of old as Nicolson's Park. In older projects for the extension of the city, before the building of the North Bridge turned the tide of fashion to the open parks beyond the Nor' Loch, the fields to the south attracted the chief attention of civic reformers. Gough, writing before 1780, says: "Sir John Dalrymple has been at uncommon care and expence in causing to be executed an accurrate survey and plan for an easy access into the city from the south, by a gentle declivity and ascent from the High Street at the head of Marlin's Wynd to Nicolson's park in a streight line, without any arch."[1] When at length the extending city invaded this southern area, and access was made

[1] Gough's *British Topography*, vol. ii. p. 674.

to it by an arch, or bridge, over the Cowgate, it was the property of Lady Nicholson, widow of a wealthy burgess, who, on his death in 1764, bequeathed the land to her. On the opening of a street through it, Lady Nicholson, apparently anticipating no farther extension, erected at its terminus a lofty Corinthian column on a panelled pedestal, on two sides of which the virtues of her deceased husband were recorded in Latin and English. But on the farther extension of the new thoroughfare at a later date, this pious memorial, which would have found an appropriate site in Nicolson Square, was thrown aside into the yard of the Public Riding-School, now occupied by the Museum of the College of Surgeons. The inscribed tablets and other sculptured fragments are probably built into the masonry of some of the neighbouring houses; and may yet gratify the curiosity of some younger generation of antiquaries.

Among the first buildings on the new thoroughfare, the one erected beyond Hill Place, now occupied as the Blind Asylum, has a peculiar interest as the residence in his later years of the distinguished chemist, Dr. Joseph Black, who was designated by Lavoisier "the illustrious Nestor of the chemical revolution." Among his most intimate friends were Dr. Cullen, Adam Smith, Hume, Dr. Alexander Carlyle, Home the clerical dramatist, and Hutton, whose geological speculations brought him into close relations with Black. Here, on the 26th of November 1799, in his seventy-first year, he passed away from this life so calmly that the cup of milk which he held resting on his knee remained unspilled, as if an experiment had been tried to demonstrate how gentle was that visit of death to the aged philosopher. Farther south, on the same side of Nicolson Street, a small and mean-looking court, surrounded by humble tenements, and crowded with a dense population, bears the name of Simon Square. It has nothing in its appearance to attract either the artist or the antiquary, yet its associations are intimately connected with the Fine Arts; for here, in a narrow lane called Paul Street, which leads thence into the Pleasance, David Wilkie took up his abode on his arrival in Edinburgh in 1799. Wilkie was then a raw country lad, only fourteen years of age; and so little was thought of the productions of his pencil that it required the powerful interest of the Earl of Leven to overcome the prejudices of the Secretary of the Academy established in Edinburgh by the Board of Trustees, and obtain his admission as a student. The humble lodging where the enthusiastic young aspirant for fame first began his career as an artist cannot but be viewed with interest. It is a little back room, measuring barely ten feet square, at the top of a common stair on the south side of the street near the Pleasance. From thence he removed to East Richmond Street, and thereafter to a comfortable attic in Palmer's Land, West Nicolson Street, where he found a studio ready for his use. For the locality where Wilkie executed some of the first of those

assay pieces that gave proof of his rare genius had already its associations with art and letters. The attic in which he now set up his easel had been occupied as the studio of Alexander Runciman till 1784, the year before his death.[1] The elder artist was noted no less for his attractive conversational powers than for his genial simplicity, so that his company was courted by some of his most eminent contemporaries: Hume, Robertson, Lord Kames, Lord Monboddo, and Sir John Clerk, for whom he painted the Ossian Hall at Pennycuik. There too he entertained Robert Fergusson, while the wayward poet, with ominous fitness, sat as his model for the Prodigal Son.

On the western side of Nicolson Square, in the vicinity of the locality thus associated with names distinguished in art and letters, is the aristocratic quarter that sprang up during the delays which preceded the commencement of the New Town, and threatened by its success to compel the projectors of that long-cherished scheme of improvement to abandon their design. Here is George Square, once the abode of rank, and far more worthy of note as the scene where Scott spent his youth under the paternal roof; that bright period of which so many beautiful details are preserved, replete with glimpses of the happy circle that gathered round his father's hearth. The house which Scott's father occupied is on the west side of the square, No. 25, and there the curious, gifted boy grew up to manhood under the kindly surveillance of the good old pair. The little back room still remains, "*that early den*," with its young antiquary's beginnings of the future Abbotsford collection, described so piquantly in Lockhart's life of him, by the pen of a female friend; and where Lord Jeffrey found him on his first visit, long years ago, "surrounded with dingy books." Though shorn of all the strange relics that young Walter Scott gathered there, it possesses still a valuable memento of the boy. On one of the window-panes his name is inscribed with a diamond in a schoolboy hand. It seems to have been a mode of courting fame peculiarly favoured by the young poets of last century. Burns repeatedly indulged in it; and other panes of glass which contained juvenile verses traced in the same durable manner have been removed from Scott's first little "den" to augment the treasures of modern collectors. On the east side of George Square lies Windmill Street, the name of which preserves the record of an earlier period, when the chief feature of the landscape, now effaced by the extended city, was a windmill which occupied its site, and raised the water from the Borough Loch to supply the brewers of the Society. The Incorporation of Brewers

[1] The following entry is extracted from the old family Bible which belonged to the artist's father, and is now in the possession of a gentleman in Edinburgh: "James Runciman and Mary Smith, married, 1735. Nov. 7, Kilwinning, Alexander, born 15th Aug. 1736. Baptized by John Walker, minister, Canongate [Edinburgh]. Died Oct. 21st, 1785. at 12 at night in Chapel Street."

has long been dissolved, and the Borough Loch has been transformed into the shady walks of the Meadows; while along its once marshy margin Buccleuch Place has been built, where the exclusive fashionables of the southern district long maintained their own ballroom and assemblies.

The impossibility of converting this pendicle of the Borough Moor to any useful purpose as private property, while it continued in its original state as a loch, fortunately prevented its alienation, while nearly every other portion of the valuable tract of land that once belonged to the borough passed into private hands. At the western extremity of the Borough Moor the venerable tower of Merchiston still stands entire, the birthplace of John Napier, the inventor of the logarithms, to whom, according to Hume, the title of a great man is more justly due than to any other whom his country ever produced. The ancestors of the great Scottish philosopher were intimately connected with Edinburgh. The first three Napiers of Merchiston successively filled the office of Provost in the reigns of James II and III, and other connections of the family rose in later reigns to the same civic dignity. Their illustrious descendant was born at Merchiston Castle in the year 1550, on the eve of memorable changes whereof even the reserved and modest student had to bear his share. The old fortalice of Merchiston, reared at an easy distance from the Scottish capital, lay in the very field of strife. Round its walls the Douglas wars raged for years, and the most striking incidents of the philosopher's early life intermingle with the carnage of that merciless feud. On the 2d of April 1572 he was betrothed to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Stirling of Keir, and on the 5th of the following month, "The cumpany of Edinburgh past furth and seigit Merchingstoun; quha wan all the pairtis thairof except the dungeoun, in the quhilk wes certane suddartis in Leith; the haill houssis wes spoulzeit and brunt, to haue smokit the men of the dungeoun out; but the cuntrie seand the fyre, raise with the pover of Leith and put the men of Edinburgh thairfra without slauchter, bot syndrie hurt."[1] The keep of Merchiston formed, indeed, the key of the south approach to the capital, so that, whoever triumphed, it became the butt of their opponents' enmity. It lay near enough to be bombarded from the Castle walls by Sir William Kirkaldy, though a cousin of its owner, because some of the King's men held it for a time, and intercepted the provisions coming to the town. Again and again was the gray tower of Merchiston beleaguered by the furious *Queen's men*, and battered with their cannon till they "maid greit slappis in the wall"; but a truce was at length effected betwixt the contending factions, and the donjon keep became once more the abode of the student, and its battlements the observatory and watch-tower of the astrologer. Napier was regarded by his contemporaries as possessed of mysterious supernatural powers; and the

[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 295.

marvels attributed to him, with the aid of a familiar spirit that attended him in the shape of a jet-black cock, have been preserved among the traditions of the neighbourhood almost to our own day.[1] The philosopher indeed would seem to have indulged his shrewd humour occasionally in giving countenance to such popular conceits. A field in front of Merchiston still bears the name of *the Doo Park* as the scene of one of his necromantic exploits. The pigeons of a neighbouring laird having annoyed him by frequent inroads on his grain, he threatened at length to arrest them *red hand*, and was laughingly dared to "catch them if he could." The depredators made their appearance as usual on the morrow, and partook so heartily of the grain, which had been previously saturated with alcohol by the reclaiming owner, that he easily made the bewitched pigeons captives, to the no small astonishment and awe of his neighbours.

It is curious to find a popular nursery tale originating in the grave pranks of the illustrious inventor of the logarithms; yet many juvenile readers will recognise the following adventure of the Warlock of Merchiston and his jet-black cock as a familiar story. Napier apparently impressed his domestics with a full belief in his magical powers, as the readiest means of turning their credulity to account. Having on one occasion missed some property, which he suspected had been taken by one of his servants, they were ordered one by one into a dark room where the black cock was confined, and each of them was required to stroke its back, after being warned that it would crow at the touch of the guilty hand. The cock maintained unbroken silence throughout the mysterious ordeal, but the hand of the culprit was the only one found entirely free from the soot with which its feathers had been previously anointed! The philosopher, however, was an adept in astrology, and appears himself to have entertained faith in the possession of unusual powers, particularly in that of discovering hidden treasure. A singular contract between him and Logan of Restalrig—one of the Gowrie conspirators,—was found among the Merchiston papers, wherein it is agreed that, "forsamekle as ther is dywerss ald reportis, motiffis, and appirancis, that thair suld be within the said Robertis dwellinge place of Fascastell a soum of monie and poiss, heid and hurdit up secritlie, quilk as yit is onfund be ony man; the said Jhone sall do his utter and exact diligens to serche and sik out, and be al craft and ingyne that he dow, to tempt, trye, and find out the sam, and be the grace of God, other sall find the sam, or than mak it suir that na sik thing hes been thair; so far as his utter trawell, diligens, and ingyne, may reach."[2] This singular contract acquires a peculiar interest when we remember the reported discovery of hidden treasure with which the preliminary steps of the Gowrie conspiracy were effected.

[1] Mark Napier's *Memoirs of Napier of Merchiston*, 4to, p. 214.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 221.

Within a little distance of the tower of Merchiston, and directly between it and the town, another mansion of the Napiers long attracted the eye of the curious. This was the picturesque half-castellated edifice of Wrychtishousis, unfortunately acquired by the trustees of Mr. Gillespie, a wealthy and benevolent tobacconist who bequeathed his whole fortune to found an hospital for the aged poor. By them it was entirely demolished in the year 1800, and the tasteless modern erection built which now occupies its site. In the description of the ancient structure given in a collection of *Views in Scotland*, published by Oliver and Co. in 1802, the western wing is described as the most ancient part, while the eastern wing is assigned to the era of Robert III, and the centre range, connecting the two, to that of James VI. But the antiquity thus assigned to the two wings was probably based on no better authority than the dates and armorial bearings with which every lintel and pediment was adorned, in the favourite style of the sixteenth century. Its profuse decorations, indeed, included the heads of Roman emperors, and might have equally well maintained its rivalry with the White Tower of London as a work of Julius Cæsar. The nucleus of this singularly picturesque group of irregular masonry appeared to have been an ancient keep, or Peel Tower, evidently of early date, which tradition affirmed to have been built by James IV for the reception of one of that King's favourites, surnamed "The Daisy." That it was built for such a purpose may well be doubted; but it is probable enough that the gay monarch may have shown special favour for some fair scion of the old Napier stock. Around the old keep were clustered in various styles of architecture intricate ranges of buildings and irregular turrets, which had been added by successive owners to increase the accommodation afforded by the primitive tower. The general effect of this antique pile was enhanced, on approaching it, by the heraldic devices and inscriptions which adorned every window, doorway, and ornamental pinnacle; the whole walls being overlaid with armorial bearings, designed to perpetuate the memory of the noble alliances by which the family succession of the Napiers of Wrychtishousis had been continued from early times. The earliest records which have been recovered show that William Napier, the owner of the old mansion in 1390, was then Constable of Edinburgh Castle, and maintained that important stronghold at the beginning of the following century, with the aid of Archibald, Earl of Douglas, and the unfortunate Duke of Rothesay, against Henry IV, at the head of the whole military force of England. To this brave resistance, which baffled all the efforts of the English monarch, and redeemed Scotland from total subjection, the ingenious genealogist of the Napiers conceives that the peculiar tenure of the Wrychtishousis may be referred. From old charters preserved in the Register House it appears that that property was held by payment to the King of a silver penny upon the *Castle Hill* of Edinburgh. "Fourteen years'

service as Constable, including so memorable a siege, may perhaps account for the silver link between the Wrychtishousis and the Castle Hill."[1]

The singular edifice thus intimately associated with a historical event of memorable importance formed by far the most striking example of an ancient baronial mansion that existed in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. Minutely examined, it exhibited the picturesque blending of the rude feudal stronghold with the ornate additions of more peaceful times, combining altogether to produce a result rarely equalled by more regular designs. The effect of this irregular group of the various styles of Scottish architecture is described by those who still remember it with regret, as singularly striking, especially when viewed from the Borough Muir towards sunset, rearing its tower and pinnacles against the evening sky. Had it remained till now it is probable that the prevalence of a better taste would have induced the trustees of Gillespie's foundation to adapt it to the purposes of their charitable institution, instead of levelling it with the ground. Its demolition, however, was not effected even then without a spirited though ineffectual remonstrance, by a correspondent of the *Edinburgh Magazine* for July 1800, who writes under the name of *Cadmon*, and urges, among other arguments, the venerable antiquity of the building; though he appears to have missed the older date of 1339, when appealing to such evidence. "Above one window," he remarks, "was the inscription, SICUT OLIVA FRUCTIFERA, 1376; and above another, IN DOMINO CONFIDO, 1400. There were several later dates, marking the periods probably of additions, embellishments, or family alliances, and the succession of different proprietors. The arms over the principal door were those of Britain after the Union of the Crowns. On pediments, above the windows, were five emblematical representations—

'And in these five, such things their form express'd,
As we can touch, taste, feel, or hear, or see.'

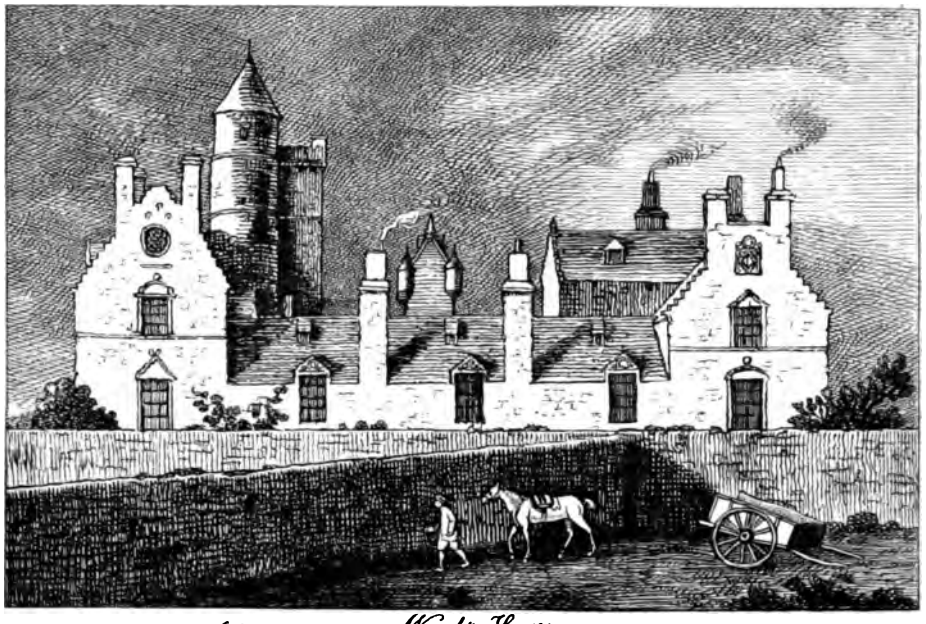
A variety of the *Virtues* also were strewed over different parts of the building. In one place was a representation of our first parents, and underneath the well-known old proverbial distich—

'When Adam delved and Eve span,
Quhair war a' the gentles than?'

In another place was a head of Julius Cæsar, and elsewhere a head of Octavius Secundus, both in good preservation." Many of those ingenious sculptures were defaced and broken, and the whole of them dispersed. Among those we have examined there is one, now built over the doorway of Gillespie's School, having a tree cut on it, bearing for fruit the stars and crescents of the family arms, and the inscription DOMINUS EST ILLUMINATIO MEA; another, placed over the Hospital well, has this legend below a boldly

[1] *Partition of the Lennox*, p. 181.

cut heraldic device, CONSTANTIA ET LABORE . 1339. On two others, now at Woodhouselee, are the following: BEATUS VIR QUI SPERAT IN DEO . 1450; and PATRIÆ ET POSTERIS . 1513. Altogether there were probably included in the decorations of this single building more quaint and curious allegories and inscriptions than are now left to reward our investigation among all the antiquities of the old town. The only remains of this singular mansion that have escaped the general wreck are the sculptured pediments and heraldic carvings built into the boundary walls of the Hospital; and a



Wrights Houses sold by Ainslie at the Cross Edinburgh

few others, referred to above, which were secured by the late Lord Woodhouselee, and now adorn a ruin on Mr. Tytler's estate at the Pentlands. An examination of them suffices to show that no dependence can be placed on the date referred to by *Cadmon* in fixing the age of the building, as the whole are in the florid style that prevailed in the reign of James VI, and were no doubt cut at one period as a durable memorial of the family tree.[1] Maitland, after refuting the popular derivation of the name of Wrychtishousis from the supposed fact of the *wrights* or carpenters having dwelt there while

[1] A minute account of these, with accurate facsimiles of several of them, will be found in Mr. Mark Napier's *History of the Partition of the Lennox*; and other points of interest connected with the arms and alliances of the Napiers of Merchiston and Wrychtishousis are discussed by the same author in his *Memoirs of Napier of Merchiston.*

cutting down the oaks of the Borough Muir, assigns it as the mansion of the *Laird of Wryte*.[1] That, however, is merely reasoning in a circle, and deriving its name from itself; but no better explanation seems now discoverable. We are indebted to Mr. C. K. Sharpe for the accompanying etching, showing the aspect it presented from the south, with its lower story concealed by lofty garden walls.

Only one other suburban district remains to be included in our sketch of the old Scottish capital. Villages and hamlets have indeed been embraced within its modern extensions, or swept away to make room for the formal streets and squares of the New Town; but these are the offspring of another parentage, though claiming a part among the memorials of the olden time. At the foot of Leith Wynd, and just without the ancient boundaries of the capital, lies an ancient suburb, which, though at no time dignified by the abodes of the nobility, or even of citizens of note, was selected as the site of several early religious foundations that still confer some interest on the locality. The foot of the wynd is also remarkable as the scene of one of those strange acts of lawless violence which were of such frequent occurrence in early times. John Graham, parson of Killearn, one of the supreme criminal judges, having married the widow of Sandilands of Calder, instituted a vexatious lawsuit against her son. The partisans of the latter probably considered it vain to contend with a lawyer with his own weapons; and so, taking the law into their own hands, his uncle, Sir James Sandilands, accompanied by a body of his friends and followers, lay in wait for the judge on the 1st of February 1592 in the wynd, which then formed one of the principal avenues to the town, and avenged their quarrel by murdering him in open day, without any of the perpetrators being brought to trial or punishment.[2] At the foot of the wynd still stands the building known as Paul's Work, rebuilt in 1619, on the site of an ancient religious foundation. About the year 1479 Thomas Spence, Bishop of Aberdeen, founded an hospital there for the reception and entertainment of twelve poor men, and dedicated it to the Virgin Mary, under the name of the Hospital of Our Lady in Leith Wynd. It subsequently received considerable augmentation to its revenues from other benefactors. It is probable that among its benefactions there had been a chapel or altar dedicated to St. Paul, unless, indeed, this was included in the original charter of foundation.[3] All

[1] Maitland, p. 508. This derivation is deduced erroneously from the boundaries of the Borough Muir as given by himself, where he has printed in the possessive case and as two words, what should evidently read, "The Laird of Wryteshouse," as in the previous sentence, "The Laird of Marchiston." —*Ibid.* p. 177.

[2] Arnot's *Criminal Trials*, p. 174.

[3] "Feb. 7, 1696.—Reduction pursued by the Town of Edinburgh against Sir Wm. Binny, and other partners of the Linen Manufactory, in Paul's Work, of the tack set to them of the same in 1683. Insisted 1mo, that this house was founded by Thos. Spence, Bishop of Aberdeen, in the reign of King

HOSPITAL OF OUR LADY.

[illegible] WALK. REBUILT 1610.

these documents, however, are now lost, and we are mainly left to conjecture as to the source of the change of name which early took place. In 1582 the Common Council adapted this charitable foundation to the new order of things, and drew up statutes for the guidance of the Bedemen, wherein it is required that "in Religion they be na Papistes, bot of the trew Religion."[1] Subsequently the whole revenues were diverted to purposes never dreamt of by the pious founders. The buildings having probably fallen into decay, were reconstructed as they now appear on the plate, and certain Dutch manufacturers were invited over from Delft, and established there for the instruction of poor girls and boys in the manufacturing of woollen stuffs. The influence of these strangers in their legitimate vocation failed of effect, but Calderwood records in 1621, "Manie of the profainner sort of the toun were drawen out upon the sixt of May, to May games in Gilmertoun and Rosseline; so profanitie began to accompanie superstition and idolatrie, as it hath done in former times. Upon the first of May the weevers in St. Paul's Worke, Englishe and Dutche, set up a highe May pole, with their garlants and bells hanging at them, wherat was great concurse of people."[2] This manufacturing speculation, devised for benevolent purposes, entirely failed, and dissipated the whole revenues of the older foundation. We next find it converted into an hospital for the wounded soldiers of General Leslie's army during the skirmishing that preceded his total defeat at Dunbar;[3] and thereafter it reached its final degradation as a penal work-house or bridewell, in which capacity it is referred to in Allan Ramsay's poems, and more recently by Scott in the *Heart of Midlothian*. The building is decorated with the city arms, and sundry other rudely sculptured devices on the pediments of the dormer windows that appear in our view; and over the doorway is inscribed the pious aspiration GOD · BLIS · THIS · WARK · with the date 1619.

Beyond this lies the district of Calton, which had for its superiors the Lords Balmerinoch, until the Common Council purchased the superiority of it from the last representative of that noble family, who perished on the block in 1746. The first Lord Balmerinoch was made the scapegoat of his royal master James VI, on the Secretary Cecil producing a letter to the Council, which His Majesty had written to the Pope, Clement VIII, with the

James II, for discipline and training of idle vagabonds, and dedicated to St. Paul; and by an Act of Council in 1626 was destinate and mortified for educating boys in a woollen manufactory; and this tack had inverted the original design, contrary to the 6th Act of Parliament, 1633, discharging the sacrilegious inversion of all pious donations."—Fountainhall's *Decisions*, vol. i. p. 709. "There was a hospital and chapel, dedicated to St. Paul, in Edinburgh; and there was in the chapel an altar and chaplainry consecrated to the Virgin; of which Sir William Knolls, the preceptor of Torphichen, claimed the patronage before the Privy Council in 1495."—*Parl. Rec.* 472. *Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 471.

[1] Maitland, pp. 468, 469. [2] Calderwood, vol. vii. p. 458. [3] Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 23.

view of smoothing his accession to the English throne. Lord Balmerinoch was accused as the author of the letter, and sent prisoner to Edinburgh, "with the people of which place," says Scott of Scotstarvit, "he was little favoured, because he had acquired many lands about the town, so that John Henderson, the bailie, forced him to light off his horse at the foot of Leith Wynd, albeit he had the rose in his leg, and was very unable to walk, till he came to the prison house." He was condemned to be beheaded, but was soon after permitted to retire to his own house, the whole being a mere ruse to cover the King's double dealing. The last Lord presented the Old Calton Burying Ground to his vassals, as a place of sepulture, and, it is said, offered them the whole hill for £40. This district, however, must have existed long before King James bestowed that title on his favourite, as portions of the ruins of an ancient chapel, dedicated to St. Ninian, remained till 1814, when they were swept away in clearing the site for the west pier of the Regent Bridge. The crypt, or vaulted ground story, remained at the time of its demolition; but "the baptismal font," as Arnot styles it, or more probably the holy-water stoup, was removed by Mr. Walter Ross in 1778 to the curious Gothic tower built by him at Dean Haugh. It consists of a neatly sculptured basin, the base of a niche, surmounted by an elegant Gothic canopy; and now forms one of the heterogeneous decorations incorporated by Sir Walter Scott into his mansion at Abbotsford. Nothing is known either of the founder or the date of erection of St. Ninian's Chapel. The neighbouring Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity was dedicated, in the charter of foundation, "for the praise and honour of the Holy Trinity, of the ever-blessed and glorious Virgin Mary, of *St. Ninian the Confessor*, and of all saints and elect of God."[1] The chapel appears, however, to have been a dependency of the Abbey of Holyrood, from different notices of it that occur in licenses granted by the Abbots to the Corporations of the Canongate, for founding and maintaining altars in the Abbey Church. In a license granted in 1554 by Robert Stewart, Abbot of Holyrood, "for augmentatioun of dyuine seruice at ane alter to be biggit within our sayd abbay, quhere Sanct Crispine and Crispiniane yer patronis sall stand," it is added, "And als it is our will yat ye cordinaris dwelland within our regalitie, . . . besyde our chapell of Sanct Niniane, outwith Sanct Androws Port besyde Edinburcht, be in bretherheid and fallowschipe with ye said dekin and masteris of ye said Cordinar crauft."[2] The main street of the Barony of Calton derived from this ancient chapel the name of St. Ninian's Row; and although this had been superseded by common consent

[1] *Charter of Foundation*, Maitland, p. 207.

[2] *Liber Cartarum*, App. p. 291. This, it will be observed, is an earlier notice of the Cordiners of Canongate than that referred to on p. 96. The Hall of the Cordiners of Calton was only demolished in 1845 in clearing the site for the North British Railway Station.

ST NINIAN'S ROW

TAKEN DOWN 18[illegible]

of late years, there still remains carved on the west side of the large old well the name and date, ST. NINIAN'S ROW, 1752; while on the lintel of the east doorway is cut "CRAIG END," the term by which the High Calton was known of old. Here also is the boundary of South Leith Parish, in proof of which there might recently have been seen carved and gilded in raised letters on a beam under the north-west gallery of St. Mary's Church, Leith, "FOR THE CRAIG END, 1652." The engraving of St. Ninian's Row will serve to convey some idea of the picturesque range of edifices dedicated of old to the Confessor, and swept away by the operations of the North British Railway. They were altogether of a humble character, and appear to have very early received the appropriate dedication of "The Beggar Row." One stone tenement which seemed to lay claim to somewhat higher pretensions than its frail lath and plaster neighbours, owed its origin to the temporary prosperity of the vassals of St. Crispin in this little barony. An ornamental panel graced the front of its projecting staircase, decorated with the Shoemakers' arms, surrounded with a richly sculptured border, and bearing the pious motto: GOD BLISS THEM CORDINERS OF EDINBURGH, WHA BUILT THIS HOUSE. Their hall was forfeited, we presume, in the general ruin of the Cordiners of Canongate and their dependencies. In Sempill of Beltrees' curious poem "The Banishment of Poverty," already referred to, the author and his travelling companion, the Genius of Poverty, make for this locality as the best suited for such wayfarers—

> "We held the Long-gate to Leith Wynd,
> Where poorest purses used to be;
> And in the Caltown lodged syne,
> Fit quarters for such companie."

Such was its state in 1680, when it formed one of the chief thoroughfares to the city, and the road which led by the ancient burgh of Broughton to the neighbouring seaport. The principal approach to Leith, however, continued for nearly a century after this to be by the Eastern Road, through the Water Gate; and the present broad and handsome thoroughfare, which still retains the name of *Leith Walk*, was then simply an elevated gravel path. The origin of this modern improvement is strangely traceable to one of the most disastrous campaigns of the seventeenth century. During the manœuvrings of the Scottish army under their Covenanting leader, General Leslie, in 1650, previous to the battle of Dunbar, the whole forces were drawn up for a time in the open plain between Edinburgh and Leith, and a line of defence constructed by means of a redoubt on the Calton Hill, and another at Leith, with a trench and parapet extending between them. The position was admirably adapted both for the defence of the towns and the security of the army, so long as the latter remained on the defensive; but the superior tactics of Cromwell soon drew General Leslie's forces out of

their secure position, and tempted them to follow to their own destruction. The embankment thus thrown up between the two towns was gradually improved into a pleasant footpath. Defoe remarks in 1748: Leith Wynd "leads north into a suburb called the Calton; from whence there is a very handsome gravel-walk, twenty feet broad, continued to the town of Leith, which is kept in good repair at the public charge, and no horses suffered to come upon it."[1] Thus it continued till the opening of the North Bridge in 1772, when it seems to have been adopted as a carriage road, with very little provision for its security or maintenance. It has since been converted at great expense into one of the broadest and most substantial causeways in the kingdom, along which handsome streets and squares are now laid out, uniting the capital and its seaport into one great city. But it still retains in its name of Leith Walk a memento of the period when, abandoned by the sappers and miners of General Leslie, it was carefully guarded for the exclusive use of pedestrian travellers. About half-way between Edinburgh and Leith, on the west side of the Walk, is the site of the Gallow-Lee, once a rising ground, whose summit was decorated with the apparatus of public execution, permanently erected there for the exposure of the mangled limbs of notorious criminals or political offenders. This accursed Golgotha, however, has been literally carted away, to convert the fine sand, of which it chiefly consisted, into mortar for the builders of the New Town; and the forsaken sand-pit now blooms with rare exotics and the fresh tints of nursling trees; the whole ground being laid out as the nursery of Messrs. Eagle and Henderson. The rising ground called Heriot's Hill, which lies immediately to the north of the nursery, serves to show the former height of the Gallow-Lee. When the surrounding ground was unoccupied, and the whole area of the New Town lay in open fields, the lonely gibbet with its loathsome burden must have formed a prominent object from a considerable distance on every side—a *moral lesson*, as our forefathers conceived, of great value in the suburban landscape!

[1] Defoe's *Tour*, vol. iv. p. 86.

CHAPTER X

LEITH, AND THE NEW TOWN

Arms, Vinegar Close, Leith.

THE history and antiquities of the ancient burgh of Leith are much too intimately connected with the Scottish capital to admit of their being overlooked among its venerable memorials. The earliest notice of Leith occurs in the original charter of Holyrood Abbey, where it is mentioned among the gifts bestowed by David I. on his royal foundation, under the name of Inverleth. Little, however, is known of its history until the year 1329, when the citizens of Edinburgh obtained from King Robert I. a grant of the harbour and mills of Leith, for the payment of fifty-two merks yearly. From that period almost to our day it has remained as a vassal of Edinburgh; not incorporated, like the Canongate, by amicable relations and the beneficent fruits of a paternal sway, but watched with a spirit of jealousy that seemed ever to dread the stepchild becoming a formidable rival. It bore a share in all the disasters that befell its jealous neighbour, without partaking of any equivalent partnership in its good fortune, until the Burgh Reform Bill of 1833 at length freed it from this slavish vassalage, that proved in its operations alike injurious to the capital and its port. The position it occupied, and the share it had in the successive struggles that exercised so marked an influence on the history of Edinburgh, have already been sufficiently detailed in the introductory sketch. It suffered nearly as much from the invading armies of Henry VIII as Edinburgh; while in the bloody feuds between the Congregation and the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, and the no less bitter

strife of the Douglas wars, it was dragged unwillingly into their quarrels, and compelled to bear the brunt of its more powerful neighbour's wrath.

In the reign of Alexander III the port belonged to the Leiths, a family who owned extensive possessions in Midlothian, including the lands of Restalrig, and took from it their patrimonial surname. About the commencement of the fourteenth century these possessions passed by marriage to the Logans, whose ancient stronghold still frowns above the crag that rises from the eastern bank of Loch End; and after the royal grant of the harbour to the town of Edinburgh by Robert I, Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig, the baronial lord of Leith, appears as a successful competitor with the magistrates of Edinburgh for the right of roadway and other privileges claimed by virtue of the royal grant. The estate of Restalrig extended from the outskirts of the Canongate to the Water of Leith, including the Calton, or Wester Restalrig, as it was styled; but Logan was easily induced to sell the rights of his unfortunate vassals to their jealous rival. The Logans, however, continued long afterwards to possess nearly the whole surrounding property, and thereby to maintain their influence and superiority in the burgh, where they appear to have always had their town mansion. The following allusion to their lodging in Leith in the reign of Queen Mary shows the dignity and importance of the town, at a period when a greater number of the nobility and higher clergy were residing there than at any earlier date: "Vpoun the xviij of May 1572, thair come to Leith ane ambassatour fra the King of France, nameit Monsieur Lacrok, a man of good knawlege, to intreat for peace betuix the pairties; at the quhilk tyme of his entrie, the haill inhabitaris and remanaris within the burgh of Edinburgh wer in thair armour wpone the fieldis in sicht of thair aduersaris, quha dischargit fyve peices of artailzerie at thame and did na skaith. Vpoun the xxj day, the foirnameit ambassatour come to Edinburgh Castell, met be George Lord Seytoun, at quhais entrie certane mvnitoun wes dischargit; quha past the same nycht to Leith agane, and lugeit in Mr. Johne Loganes lugeing thair."[1] The whole possessions of this ancient family were at length forfeited in the reign of James VI in consequence of the turbulent baron, Robert Logan of Restalrig, being involved in the Gowrie conspiracy; though his share in that mysterious plot was not discovered till he was in his grave. The forfeited estates were transferred to the Elphinstons of Balmerinoch, new favourites who were rising to wealth and power on the spoils of the Church and the ruin of its adherents.

One of the descendants of the Barons of Restalrig appears to have retrieved in some degree the failing fortunes of the family by a gallant *coup de main*, achieved against a host of opponents. A gentleman in Leith has now in his possession the marriage-contract between Logan and Isabella

[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 263.

Fowler, an heiress whom tradition affirms to have been the celebrated *Tibbie Fowler o' the glen*, renowned in Scottish song, whose *penny siller* proved so tempting a bait that the lady's choice involved the defeat of forty disappointed wooers! With *Tibbie's siller* he appears to have built himself a handsome mansion at the head of the Sheriff Brae, which was demolished only a few years since, to make way for the church and alms-houses erected by Sir John Gladstone of Fasque, Bart. It was decorated with a series of sculptured dormer windows, one of which bore the initials I. L., with the date 1636.[1]

Among the antiquities of Leith, as might be anticipated, there are none of so early a character as those we have described in the ancient capital. Its ecclesiastical establishments apparently claim no existence prior to the fifteenth century; while the oldest date we have found on any private building is 1573. It is nevertheless a quaint, old-fashioned-looking burgh, full of crooked alleys and rambling narrow wynds, scattered about in the most irregular fashion, and happily innocent as yet of the refinements of an Improvements Commission, though the more gradual operations of time and changing tastes have swept away many curious features of the olden time. There is indeed an air of substantial business-like bustle and activity about its narrow unpretending thoroughfares and dingy-looking counting-houses, that strangely contrasts with the gaudy finery of New Town trading. The London fopperies of huge plate-glass windows and sculptured and decorated shop-fronts, so much in vogue there, are nearly unknown among the burghers of Leith. The dealers are too busy about more important matters to trouble themselves with these new-fangled extravagances, while their customers are much too knowing to be attracted by any such showy baits. The contrast indeed between the Scottish capital and its port is even more marked than that which distinguishes the courtly West End of London from its plebeian Wapping or Whitechapel, and is, probably, in all the most substantial sources of difference, in favour of the busy little burgh. Its merchants conduct a large and important share of the trade of the Baltic and the North Sea in their unpretending little boothies; while the shopkeeper of the neighbouring city magnifies the details transacted over his well-polished mahogany counter, and writes himself down *Merchant* accordingly.

The principal street of Leith is the Kirkgate, a broad and somewhat stately thoroughfare, according to the prevalent proportions among the lanes and alleys of this close-packed little burgh. Time and modern taste have slowly, but very effectually, modified its antique features. No timber-fronted gable now thrusts its picturesque façade with careless grace beyond

[1] Campbell's *Hist. of Leith*, p. 315. *George*, grandson of Robert Logan, who was forfeited, married Isabel Fowler, daughter to Ludovick Fowler of Burncastle. Nisbet's *Heraldry*, vol. i. p. 202.

the line of more staid and formal-looking ashlar fronts. Even the crow-stepped gables of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are becoming rare; and it is only by the irregularity which still pertains to it, aided by the few really antique tenements that remain unaltered, that it now attracts the notice of the curious visitor as the genuine representative of the ancient High Street of the burgh. Some of those relics of former times are well worthy of the notice of the antiquary; while memorials of still earlier fabrics here and there meet the eye, and carry back the imagination to those stirring scenes in the history of this locality, when the Queen Regent and her courtiers and allies made it their chosen place of abode; or when, amid a more peaceful array, the fair young Scottish Queen Mary, or the sumptuous Anne of Denmark, rode gaily through the Kirkgate on their way to Holy-rood. At the south-east angle of the old churchyard one of these memorials presents itself in the shape of a Gothic pediment surmounting the boundary wall, adorned with the Scottish regalia, sculptured in high relief, with the initials J. R. 6; while a large panel below bears the royal arms and initials of Charles II, very boldly executed. These insignia of royalty are intended to mark the spot on which stood King James's Hospital: a benevolent foundation which owed no more to the royal patron whose name it bore than the confirmation by his charter in 1641 of a portion of the revenues that had been long before bestowed by the piety of private donors on the Hospital of St. Anthony; and the imposition of a duty on all wine brought into the port, for the augmentation of its reduced funds. Here certain poor women were maintained, being presented thereto by the United Corporations of Leith, exclusive of that of the Mariners, the wealthiest and most numerous class of privileged citizens, whose Hospital, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, stood directly opposite to St. Mary's Church, on the site now occupied by the Trinity House. Two of the tablets which adorned the ancient edifice are built into the south wall of the new building at the corner of St. Giles Street. One of them, surmounted by a pediment elaborately sculptured with an anchor, globes, and a group of antique nautical instruments, is inscribed: PERVIA . VIRTUTI . SVDERA . TERRA . MARE. On another is cut in large ornamental antique characters: IN THE NAME OF THE LORD VE MASTERIS AND MARENERIS BYLIS THIS HOVS TO YE POVR. ANNO DOMINO 1555. A third tablet, with the date 1570, has on it the 23d and 24th verses of Psalm cvii. The date of this foundation is curious. Its dedication implies that it originated with the adherents of the ancient faith; while the date of the old inscription indicates the very period when the Queen Regent assumed the reins of government. That same year John Knox landed at Leith on his return from exile; and only three years later the last convocation of the Roman Catholic clergy that ever assembled in Scotland under the sanction of its laws was held in the Blackfriars' Church at Edinburgh, and signalised

its final session by proscribing Sir David Lindsay's writings, and enacting that his "buik should be abolished and brunt."

To the east of the Trinity House, on the north side of the Kirkgate, a very singular building fronts the main street at the head of Combe's Close. The upper stories appear to have been erected about the end of the sixteenth century, and form a neat and picturesque specimen of the private buildings of that period. But the ground floor presents altogether dissimilar features. An arcade extends along nearly the whole front, formed of semicircular arches, resting on massive round pillars, finished with moulded capitals. Their appearance is such that even an experienced antiquary, if altogether ignorant of the history of the locality, would be tempted to pronounce them early and very interesting Norman remains. That they are of considerable antiquity cannot be doubted. The floor of the house is now several feet below the level of the street; and the ground has risen so much within one of them, which is an open archway giving access to the court behind, that a man of ordinary stature has to stoop considerably in attempting to pass through. No evidence is more incontrovertible as to the great age of a building than this. Other instances of a similar mode of construction are, however, to be found in Leith, tending to show that the style of architecture is not a safe criterion of the date of their erection. The most remarkable of these is an ancient edifice in the Sheep's Head Wynd, the ground floor of which is constructed in the same early style, though with pillars and mouldings somewhat plainer and less massive in character; while over the doorway of the projecting staircase is cut in ornamental characters the initials and date, D. W: M. W., 1579. The edifice, though small and greatly dilapidated, is of well-wrought ashlar finished with string-courses and mouldings, and retains the evidences of former grandeur amid its degradation and decay. Maitland refers to another building, still standing at the north-west corner of Queen Street, which in his day had its lower story in the form of an open piazza, but modern alterations have completely concealed this antique feature. Here was the exchange or meeting-place of the merchants and traders of Leith for the transaction of business, as was indicated by the popular name of the Burss—evidently a corruption of the French term *Bourse*,—by which it was generally known at a very recent period. The arches in the Kirkgate have also been closed up and converted into shops of late years, but not so effectually as to conceal their character, which is deserving of special notice as a very characteristic feature in the domestic architecture of the town. Returning, however, to the ancient edifices of the Kirkgate, we must refer the reader to the view already given of one which was only demolished in 1845, and which, from its appearance, was undoubtedly among the oldest private buildings in Leith.[1] Popular fame, as

[1] *Ante*, vol. i. p. 71.

was mentioned before, assigned its erection to Mary of Guise. The value to be attached to such associations may be inferred from a remark in the most recent history of Leith: "Were we to give credit to all the traditionary information we have received, Mary of Lorraine would appear to have had in Leith not one place of residence, but at least a score, there being scarcely an old house in the town without its claims to the honour of having been the habitation of the Queen Regent. The mortification, therefore, which certainly awaits him who sets out on an antiquarian excursion through Leith, particularly if the house of that illustrious personage be the object of his pursuit, will not proceed from any difficulty in discovering the former residence of her Majesty, but in the much more puzzling circumstance of finding by far too many. In short, nearly all the existing antiquities of Leith are fairly divided between Cromwell and Queen Mary, between whom there would seem to have been a sort of partnership in building houses. As might naturally be expected from this association, her Majesty and the Protector would appear to have lived on the most sociable footing. We have in more than one instance found them residing under one roof, Queen Mary occupying probably the first floor, and Cromwell living upstairs."[1] Such popular aptitude in the coining of traditions is by no means confined to Leith; but the antiquary may escape all further trouble in searching for the Queen's mansion by consulting Maitland, who remarks "that Mary of Lorraine having chosen Leith for her residence, erected a house to dwell in at the corner of Quality Street Wynd in the Rotten-row," now known as Water Lane; "but the same being taken down and rebuilt, the Scottish Arms which were in the front thereof, are erected in the wall of a house opposite thereto on the southern side; and the said Mary, for the convenience of holding councils, erected a handsome and spacious edifice for her Privy Council to meet in."[2] The Council House still stands on Coal Hill, overlooking the harbour, near the outlet of the river, as shown on the plate; but the curious visitor will now look in vain on the assigned site, even for the sculptured arms that escaped the general destruction of the ancient edifice to which the Queen Regent withdrew at a time when her life was embittered by the strife of factions and the horrors of civil war. They again disappeared on the destruction of the later building; but the tablet has since been recovered, and built into a restoration of part of the west front and great west window of St. Mary's Church, erected by Dr. Robertson, the historian of Leith, in his own private garden at Albany Street. This inscription is cut in raised letters on a panel above the royal arms: MARIA · DE · LORAINE · REGINA · SCOTIE · 1560.

One royal abode, however, remains, and forms a feature of peculiar interest among the antiquities of the Kirkgate. Entering by a low and

[1] Abridged from Campbell's *History of Leith*, p. 312.

[2] Maitland, p. 496.

narrow archway immediately behind the buildings on the east side, and about half-way between Charlotte Street and Coatfield Lane, the visitor finds himself in a singular-looking irregular little court, retaining unequivocal marks of former magnificence. A projecting staircase is thrust obliquely into the narrow space, and adapts itself to the irregular sides of the court by sundry corbels and recesses, such as form the most characteristic features of our older Scottish domestic architecture, and might almost seem to a fanciful imagination to have been produced as it jostled itself into the straitened site. A richly decorated dormer window forms the chief ornament of this portion of the building, finished with unusually fine Elizabethan work, and surmounted by a coronet and thistle, with the letter C, the badge of John, Earl of Carrick, whose father, Robert Stewart, Earl of Orkney, was a natural son of James V. Behind the little court a simple square tower rises to a considerable height, finished with a bartizaned roof, apparently designed for commanding an extensive view. Such is the approach to the sole remaining abode of royalty in this ancient burgh. The straitened access, however, conveys a very false idea of the accommodation within. It is a large and elegant mansion, presenting its main front to the east, where an extensive piece of garden-ground is enclosed, reaching nearly to the site of the ancient town walls, from whence, it is probable, there was formerly an opening to the neighbouring downs. The east front appears to have been considerably modernised. Its most striking feature is a curiously decorated doorway, finished in the ornate style of bastard Gothic introduced in the reign of James VI. An ogee arch, filled with rich Gothic tracery, surmounts the square lintel, finished with a lion's head, which seems to hold the arch suspended in its mouth ; and on either side is a sculptured shield and the date 1631. The one shield bears the Earl's monogram, characterised by the wonted intricacy then in vogue with such riddles. The arms of the Earl of Orkney are, first and fourth, the royal arms debruised by a bardlet, and second and third, a galley, for Orkney. The same arms, with the mark of cadency of a chevron surtout, were borne by his son, and are carved on the other shield. The Earl of Carrick sold his mansion to John, third Lord Balmerinoch, who there entertained the young King, Charles II, on his arrival at Leith on the 29th July 1650 to review the Scottish army, which then lay encamped on the neighbouring links, numbering above 40,000 men. Charles, having failed in obtaining the Scottish Crown on his own terms, notwithstanding his being proclaimed King at the Cross of Edinburgh on the execution of Charles I, had now agreed to receive it with all devout solemnity, on the terms dictated by the Presbyterian royalists, as a covenanted King. He proceeded from Leith on Friday, 2d August, and rode in state to the capital of his ancestors, amid the noisiest demonstrations of welcome from the fickle populace. From the Castle, where he was received

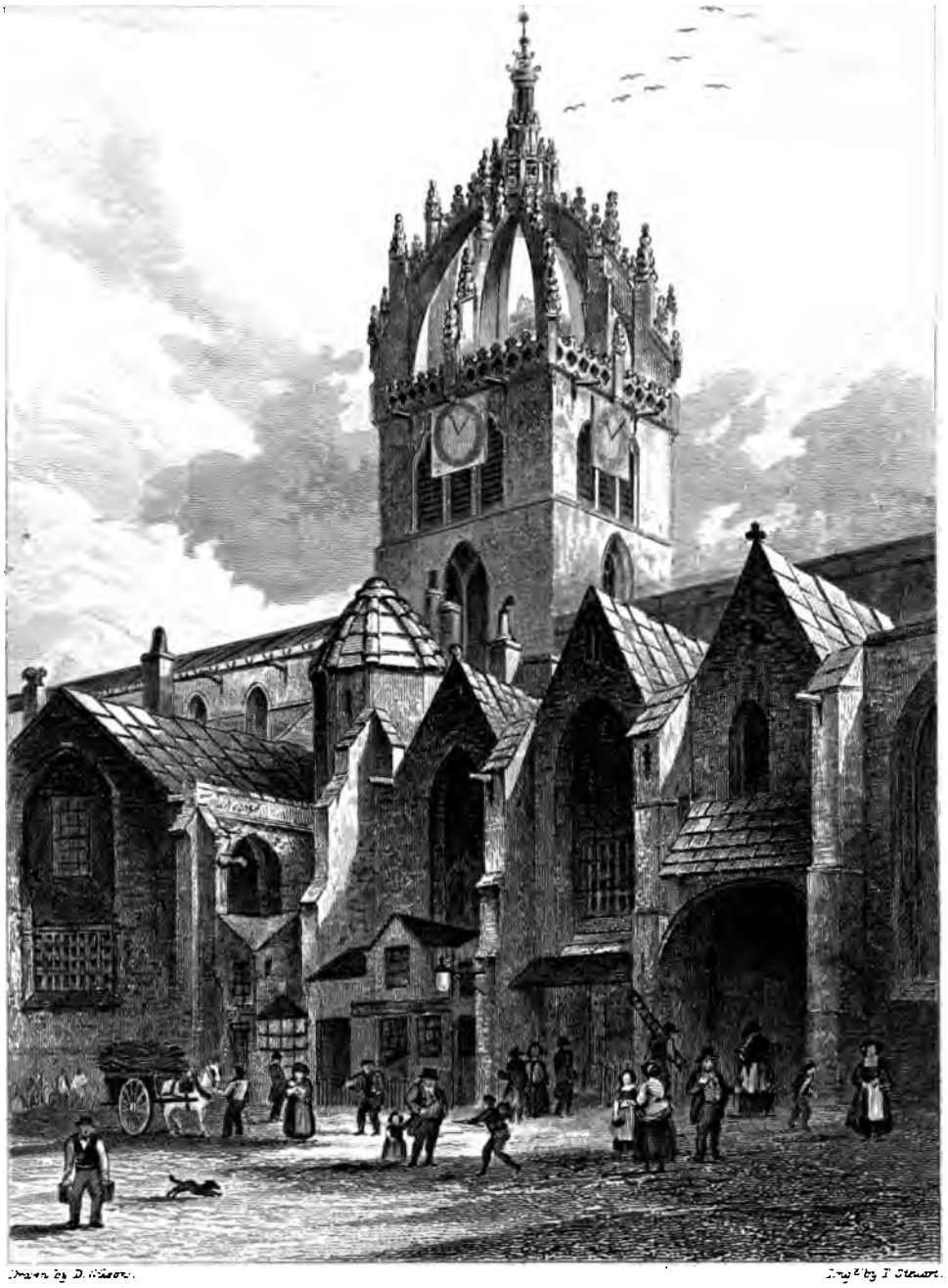
with a royal salute, he walked on foot to the Parliament House, to partake of a banquet provided for him at the expense of the city; and from thence he returned the same evening to my Lord Balmerinoch's house at Leith.

The fine old building at the Coal Hill, near the harbour, which is believed to be "the handsome and spacious edifice" erected by the Queen Regent for the meeting of her council, is a large and stately fabric; and retains numerous traces of former magnificence in its internal decorations. The tradition is confirmed by further evidence, as a small and mean-looking little court behind, though abandoned probably for considerably more than a century to the occupation of the very poorest and most squalid of the population, still retains the imposing title of the Parliament Square. The whole of the buildings that enclose this dignified area abound with dilapidated relics of costly internal adornment; some large and very fine specimens of oak-carving were only removed from it a few years since, and a beautifully carved old oaken chair remained till recently an heirloom bequeathed by its patrician occupants to the humble tenants of their degraded dwelling. A recent writer on the antiquities of Leith conceives it probable that this may have been the residence of the Regent Lennox; but we have been baffled in our attempts to arrive at any certain evidence on the subject by reference to the titles. "Mary," says Maitland, "having begun to build in the town of Leith, was followed therein by divers of the nobility, bishops, and other persons of distinction of her party; several of whose houses are still remaining, as may be seen in sundry places, by their spacious rooms, lofty ceilings, large staircases, and private oratories or chapels for the celebration of mass." Beyond the evidence afforded by such remains of decaying splendour and former wealth, nothing more can now be ascertained. The occupation of Leith by nobles and dignitaries of the Church was of a temporary nature, and under circumstances little calculated to induce them to leave many durable memorials of their presence. A general glance, therefore, at such noticeable features as still remain will suffice to complete our survey of the ancient seaport.

The earliest date that we have discovered on any of the old private buildings of the burgh occurs on the projecting turnpike of an antique tenement at the foot of Burgess Close, which bears the civic motto of Edinburgh inscribed on the lintel in Roman characters: NISI DNS FRUSTRA, 1573. This ancient alley is the earliest thoroughfare in the burgh of which we have any account. It was granted to the burgesses of Edinburgh towards the close of the fourteenth century by Logan of Restalrig, the baronial over-lord of the port before it acquired the dignity of a royal burgh, and the owner of nearly all the lands that extended along the banks of the harbour of Leith. We are led to infer from the straitened proportions of this narrow

ANCIENT COUNCIL HOUSE,

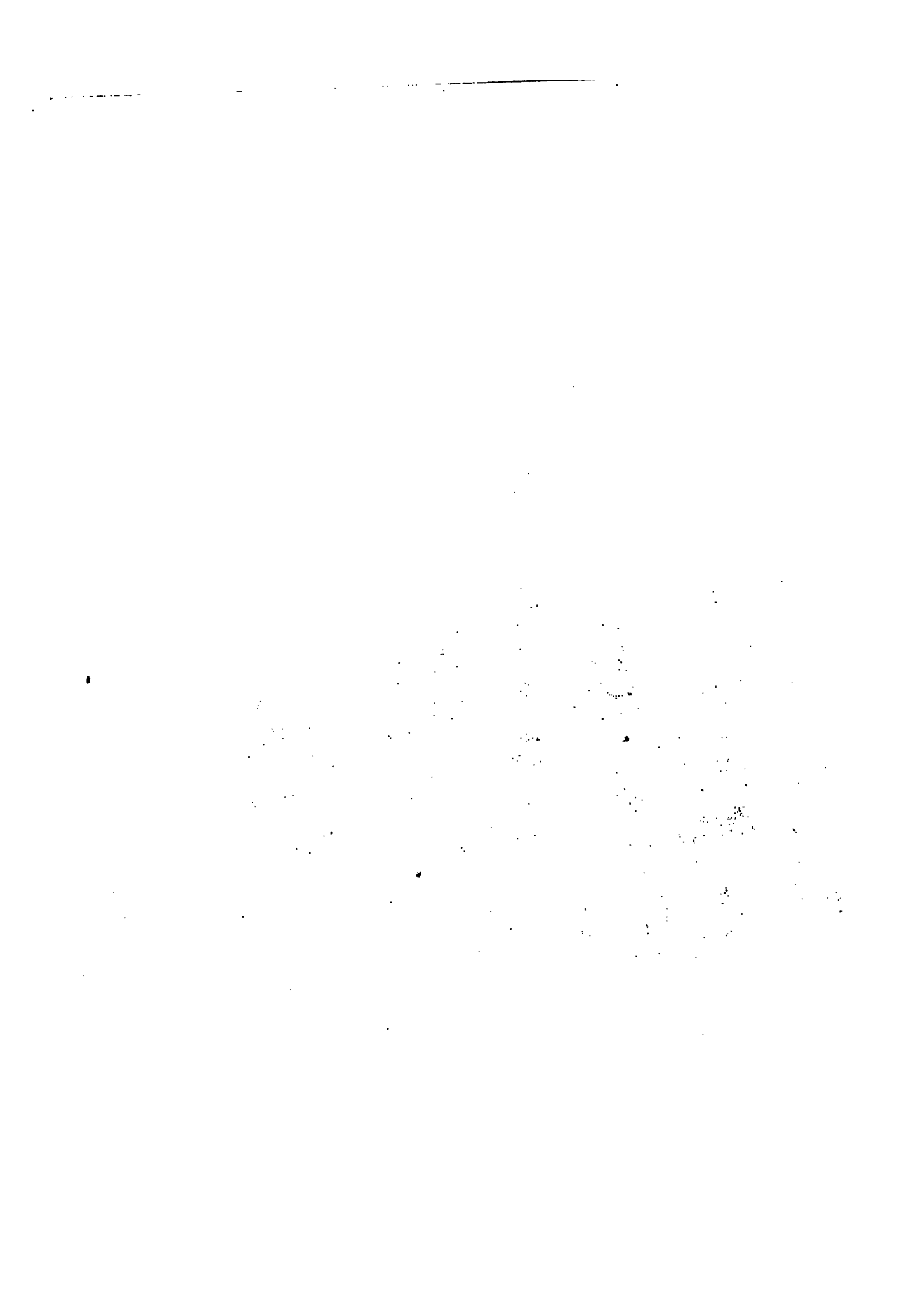
COAL HILL, LEITH.



Drawn by D. Wilson. Engd by T. Stewart.

ST GILES' CHURCH.

FROM THE NEWEST ALTERED 1831.



alley that the whole exports and imports of the shipping of Leith were conveyed on pack-horses, as it would certainly prove impassable for any large-wheeled conveyance. Its inconvenience, however, appears to have been felt at the time; and the Laird of Restalrig was speedily compelled to grant a more commodious access to the shore. The inscription which now graces this venerable thoroughfare, though of a date so much later than its first construction, preserves a memorial of its gift to the civic council of Edinburgh, as we may reasonably ascribe to the veneration of some wealthy merchant of the capital the inscribing over the doorway of his mansion at Leith the very appropriate motto of the city arms. To this, the oldest quarter of the town, indeed, we must direct those who go "in search of the picturesque." Waters' Close, which adjoins Burgess Close, is scarcely surpassed by any venerable alley of the capital, either in its attractive or repulsive features. Stone and timber lands are mixed together in admired disorder; and one antique tenement in particular, at the corner of Water Lane, with a broad projecting turnpike, contorted by corbels and string-courses, and every variety of convenient aberration from the perpendicular or horizontal, which the taste or whim of its constructor could devise, is one of the most singular edifices that the artist could select as a subject for his pencil.

The custom of affixing sententious aphorisms to the entrances of their dwellings pertained fully as much to the citizens of Leith as of Edinburgh. The lintel from an older structure, built into its successor in Chapel Lane, is inscribed with the rhyming couplet : THAY . AR . VELCUM . HEIR . THAT . GOD . DOIS . LOVE . AND . FEIR . 1590 . T · F : A · M. Another in St. Andrew Street has in the centre a shield, now much defaced, impaling the arms of the old builder and his wife, with their initials A · T : I · N, and the favourite motto, BLISIT . BE . GOD . IN . AL . HIS . GIFTIS . 1594. The same motto reappears with slight variation on a large square panel on the front of an old house at the head of Sheriff Brae, with the initials and date : I · W : I · H · 1601. In Meikle's Close is another : THE . BLISSING . OF . GOD . IS . GRIT . RICHES . M · S · 1609, and a house between Smeaton's Close and St. Andrew Street has the two inscriptions : FEAR . THE . LORD . 1608, and THE . FEIR . OF . THE . LORD . IS . THE . BEGINNING . OF . AL . VISDOME. These, with verses from the Psalms, and others of more modern character, are repeated elsewhere with sundry variations. In Vinegar Close an ancient building, now greatly modernised, is adorned with a large sculptured shield, containing the armorial bearings of Henry Smith, vinegar-maker, and his wife, Agnes Gray, probably an heiress, as represented in the vignette at the head of this chapter : a curious example of the assumption, by a tradesman, of armorial bearings with all the amplitude of heraldic blazonry, at a period when the bearing of arms had a well-recognised significance. The lintel of the ancient doorway of a house in Water Lane,

demolished in 1832, bore the following variation of the pious couplet, already quoted from Chapel Lane, with the later date of 1574—

THEY AR WELCOME HERE,
QUHA THE LORD DO FEIR.

And over another doorway in Queen Street there is cut, in more ancient and ornamental characters, CREDENTI . NIHIL . LINGUÆ. A fine old building near the head of Queen Street, only demolished a few years since, was generally believed to be the mansion which had been honoured as the residence of the Queen Regent; but the modern name of the street may have suggested the tradition. The ancient tenement, however, was evidently one of unusual magnificence. Several large portions of very richly carved oak panelling removed from it at the time of its demolition were acquired by Mr. C. K. Sharpe; and their style of carving leaves little doubt of their being fully as old as the date of the Queen Regent's abode in Leith. Its panelled walls were also decorated with well-executed paintings, some of which had the appearance of considerable antiquity.[1] On the exterior the house was decorated with sculptured dormer windows and other ornamentation common to buildings of the period; and the oak window frames were richly carved in the style so frequently described among the features of our earlier domestic architecture. Many such windows are still to be met with about Leith, carved in different styles, according to the period of their execution; the most common ornament on those of later date being the *egg and arrow*.

Frequent mention is made by early historians of the King's Work, an extensive building that appears to have occupied the whole ground between the Broad Wynd and Bernard Street. From the records of payments in the Exchequer Rolls of James II in 1459, we have evidence of its erection being then in progress.[2] The exact purpose for which it was maintained is not clearly defined in any of the early allusions, but it probably included an arsenal, with warehouses and resident officials, for storing the goods and managing the revenues of the port. This idea is confirmed by the *reddendum* in the charter by which James VI afterwards conferred it on a favourite attendant, viz. that he was to keep one of the cellars in the King's Work in repair for holding wines and other provisions for His Majesty's use.[3] That some funds were derivable from it to the Crown is proved by the frequent payments with which it was burdened by different monarchs, as in the year 1477, when King James III granted out of it a perpetual annuity of twelve merks Scots, for support of a chaplain to officiate at the altar of the upper chapel in the Collegiate Church of the blessed Virgin Mary which he had founded at Restalrig. The King's Work was advantageously placed at the

[1] Campbell's *History of Leith*, p. 314. [2] *Regist. Domus de Soltre*, etc. pp. xliv, xlv.
[3] Arnot, p. 572.

mouth of the harbour, so as to serve as a defence against any enemy that might approach it by sea. That it partook of the character of a citadel or fortification seems to be implied by an infeftment granted by Queen Mary in 1564 to John Chisholme, who is there designated comptroller of artillery. The ancient buildings had shared in the general conflagration which signalised the departure of the army of Henry VIII in 1544, and they would appear to have been rebuilt by Chisholme in a style of substantial magnificence. The following are the terms in which the Queen confirms her former grant to the comptroller of artillery on his completion of the work: "Efter hir hienes lauchfull age, and revocation made in parliament, hir majeste sett in feu farme to hir lovite suitoure Johnne Chisholme, his airis and asignais, all and haille hir landis, callet the King's Werk in Leith, within the boundis specifit in the infeftment, maid to him thairupon, quhilkis than war alluterlie decayit, and sensyne are reparit and reedifit be the said Johnne Chisholme, to be policy and great decoratioun of this realme, in that oppin place and sight of all strangearis and utheris resortand at the schore of Leith." The property of the King's Work remained vested in the Crown, notwithstanding the terms of this royal grant. In 1575 we find it converted into an hospital for the reception of those who recovered from the plague; and in 1613 it was bestowed by James VI on his favourite *chamber-chield*, or groom of the chamber, Bernard Lindsay of Lochill, by a royal grant which empowered him to keep four taverns therein. A part of it was then fitted up as a tennis-court for the favourite pastime of catchpel, and continued to be used for this purpose till the year 1649, when it was taken possession of by the magistrates of Edinburgh, and converted into the Weigh-House of the burgh. The locality retained the name of *Bernard's Nook*, derived from its occupation by the royal servitor; and that of Bernard Street, which is now conferred on the broad thoroughfare that leads eastward from the Shore, still preserves a memorial of the favourite chamber-chield of James VI. A sculptured tablet which bears the date 1650—the year immediately succeeding the appropriation of the King's Work to civic purposes,—is inserted in a panel on the north gable of the old Weigh-House now occupying its site, with the curious device of a rainbow carved in bold relief, springing at either end from a bank of clouds.

The chief thoroughfare of the old seaport, and the one we presume which superseded Burgess Close as the principal approach to the harbour, is the Tolbooth Wynd, where the ancient Town Hall stood. This was a singularly picturesque specimen of the tolbooth of an old Scottish burgh, the quaintly picturesque façade of which is shown on the accompanying plate. It was built by the citizens of Leith in the year 1565, though not without the strenuous opposition of their jealous over-lords of the Edinburgh Council, who threw every impediment in their way; until at length Queen Mary,

after repeated remonstrances, wrote to the provost and magistrates: "We charge zou that ze permit oure Inhabitants of oure said toun of Leith, to big and edifie oure said Hous of Justice, within oure said Toun of Leith, and mak na stop nor impediment to thame to do the samyn, for it is oure will that the samyn be biggit, and that ze disist fra further molesting of them in tyme cuming as ze will anser to us thairupon."[1] This royal mandate, which was subscribed at Holyrood Palace on the 1st of March 1563, appears to have had the desired effect, as an ornamental tablet in the upper part of the building had the Scottish arms boldly sculptured, with two unicorns for supporters, and the inscription and date in large Roman characters—IN DEFENCE, M. R., 1565. Soon after the demolition of the Heart of Mid-Lothian, the doom of the ancient Tolbooth of Leith was pronounced, and plans procured for a new court-house and prison. Great exertions were then used by several zealous antiquaries, and particularly by Sir Walter Scott and Mr. Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, to induce the magistrates of Edinburgh, under whose authority the work proceeded, to preserve the picturesque and venerable façade, while the remainder of the building could be demolished and rebuilt according to the proposed plan. The proposition involved the ever-recurring conflict between the conservative antiquary and the civic reformer. A deputation waited on my Lord Provost to urge their petition, and was cavalierly dismissed with the unanswerable argument that the expense of new designs had already been incurred; and so the singular old house of justice of Queen Mary was replaced by the commonplace erection that now occupies its site.

Near the top of the Tolbooth Wynd an ancient signal-tower stands, which is represented in the accompanying engraving. It is furnished with little port-holes at the top, resembling those designed for musketry in the old Border peel towers and fortalices; but which were constructed here, we presume, for the more peaceful object of watching the owners' merchant-vessels as they entered the Firth. An unusually striking piece of sculpture, in very bold relief, occupies a large panel over the archway leading into the courtyard behind. It bears the date 1678, and, amongst sundry other antique objects, includes the representation of a singularly rude specimen of mechanical ingenuity. This consists of a crane, the whole machinery of which is comprised in one large drum or broad wheel, made to revolve like the wire cylinder of a squirrel's cage by a poor labourer who occupies the quadruped's place, and clambers up, Sisyphus-like, in his endless treadmill. The perspective, and the grouping and proportions of the whole composition, form altogether an amusing and curious sample both of the mechanical and the fine arts of the seventeenth century.

At the foot of the Tolbooth Wynd the good Abbot Ballantyne, who

[1] Maitland, p. 25.

ANCIENT SIGNAL TOWER.

TOLBOOTH WYND. LEITH.

presided over the Monastery of Holyrood during the closing years of the fifteenth century, caused a handsome stone bridge of three arches to be erected over the Water of Leith, and soon after its completion he built and endowed a chapel at the north end of the bridge, and dedicated it to the honour of God, the Virgin Mary, and St. Ninian. The Abbot appears to have had considerable possessions in Leith. He appointed two chaplains to officiate, who were yearly to receive all the profits arising out of a house erected by the founder at the southern end of the Bridge of Leith, with four pounds yearly out of his lands or tenements in South Leith. In addition to the offerings made in the chapel, the tolls or duties accruing from the new bridge were to be employed in repairing the chapel, bridge, and tenement, and the surplus given to the poor. This charter of foundation was confirmed by James IV on the 1st of January 1493.[1] St. Ninian's Chapel was built with the consent of the Chapter of Holyrood Abbey, and the approbation of William, Archbishop of St. Andrews; and the ground on which it and the neighbouring tenements were erected is styled in a charter of Queen Mary, dated 1569, "The liberty of the north side of the Water of Leith, commonly called *Rudeside*"; an epithet probably resulting from its dependency on the Abbey of the Holyrood. St. Ninian's Chapel still occupies its ancient site on the banks of the Water of Leith, but very little of the original structure of the good Abbot remains. The only part that can be assigned to him is a portion of the wall on the north side, where a small doorway appears with an elliptical arch, now built up, and partly sunk in the ground. The remainder of the structure cannot be earlier than the close of the sixteenth century, and the date on the steeple, which closely resembles that of the old Tron Church destroyed in the great fire of 1824, is 1675. A large sculptured lintel belonging to the later edifice has been rebuilt into a more modern addition, erected apparently in the reign of Queen Anne. It bears on it the inscription in large Roman characters: BLESSED . AR . THEY . YAT . HEIR . YE . VORD . OF . GOD . AND . KEIP . IT . LVK . XI . 1600. By the charter of Queen Mary, which confirmed the rights that had been purchased by the inhabitants from Lord Holyrood-house, the Chapel of St. Ninian was erected into a church for the district of North Leith, and endowed with sundry annual rents, and other ecclesiastical property, including the neighbouring Chapel and Hospital of St. Nicolas and their endowments. An Act of Parliament was obtained in 1606, creating North Leith a separate and independent parish, and appointing the chapel to be called in all time coming the "parish kirk of Leith benorth the brig."

The celebrated George Wishart—well known as the author of the elegant Latin memoirs of Montrose, which were suspended to the neck of the illustrious Cavalier when he was executed,—was minister of this parish

[1] Maitland, p. 497.

in the year 1638, when the signing of the Covenant became the established test of faith and allegiance in Scotland. He was soon afterwards deposed for refusing to subscribe, and was thrown into one of the dungeons of the Tolbooth of Edinburgh in consequence of the discovery of his correspondence with the Royalists. Wishart survived the stormy revolution that followed, and shared in the sunshine of the Restoration. He was preferred to the see of Edinburgh on the re-establishment of Episcopacy in Scotland, and died there in 1671, in his seventy-first year. He was buried in the Abbey Church of Holyrood, where a long and flattering Latin inscription epitomises the biography of that *celebris doctor Sophocardius*, as he is styled, according to the scholastic punning of that age. The last minister who officiated in the ancient Chapel of St. Ninian was Dr. Johnston, the benevolent founder of the Edinburgh Blind Asylum, who held the incumbency for upwards of half a century. The foundation of the new parish church of North Leith had been laid so early as 1814, and at length in 1826 its venerable predecessor was finally abandoned as a place of worship, and soon after converted into a granary. "Thus," says the historian of Leith, with indignant pathos, "that edifice which had for upwards of 330 years been devoted to the sacred purposes of religion is now the unhallowed repository of pease and barley!"

The Hospital and Chapel of St. Nicolas, with the neighbouring cemetery, were most probably founded at a later date than Abbot Ballantyne's Chapel, as the reasons assigned by the founder for the building of the latter seem to imply that the inhabitants were without any accessible place of worship. Nothing, however, is now known of their origin, and every vestige of them was swept away by General Monk when constructing the Citadel of Leith, soon after Cromwell took possession of the town.[1]

The fortifications which were reared under the directions of the republican General are thus described in the Itinerary of the learned John Ray, who visited Scotland in 1661:—"At Leith we saw one of those citadels built by the Protector, one of the best fortifications that ever we beheld, passing fair and sumptuous. There are three forts advanced above the rest, and two platforms; the works round about are faced with freestone towards the ditch, and are almost as high as the highest buildings within, and withal thick and substantial. Below are very pleasant, convenient, and well-built houses for the governor, officers, and soldiers, and for magazines and stores. There is also a good capacious chapel, the piazza, or void space within, as large as Trinity College [Cambridge] great Court." This stronghold, which was reared at the cost of upwards of £100,000 sterling, fell a sacrifice, soon after the Restoration, to the cupidity of the monarch and the narrow-minded jealousy of the Town Council of Edinburgh. It was

[1] *Ante*, vol. i. p. 127.

demolished, and its materials sold.[1] We have given in a previous chapter (vol. i., page 127) a view of the only fragment of it that remains, and have there pointed out how extensive have been the encroachments effected on the old sea-beach in recent years. Not only could our forefathers remember when the spray of the sea billows was dashed by the east wind against the last relic of the Citadel that now stands so remote from the rising tide, but it is not many years since a ship was wrecked upon the adjoining beach, and went to pieces there, while its bowsprit kept beating against the walls of the Citadel at every surge of the rolling waves that forced it higher on the strand.[2]

Of the earlier fortifications of the town of Leith scarcely a fragment now remains, although they were unquestionably of a much more substantial nature than either of the walls that were constructed for the defence of the neighbouring capital. The capabilities of Leith as a stronghold, which could command a ready intercourse with friendly allies even when assailed by a hostile army, were first perceived by Monsieur d'Essé, the French general, who arrived in the Firth of Forth in the summer of 1548, bringing powerful reinforcements to the aid of the Queen Regent against the English invaders.[3] Under the direction of the French general the port of Leith was speedily enclosed within formidable ramparts, constructed according to the most approved principles of military science then known on the Continent; as was proved by their successful defence during the siege of 1560, when the ramparts reared to repel an invading army came, under the strange vicissitudes of civil war, to be maintained by foreign arms against the whole native force, mustered with more alacrity than skill by the Lords of the CONGREGATION. A large and strong bastion, which bore the name of Ramsay's Fort, was constructed immediately to the north of the King's Work, at the foot of Bernard Street, for the defence of the harbour; from thence the ramparts extended, in a south-easterly direction, to the site now occupied by the Exchange buildings, where stood the remains of the second bastion. These consisted of a narrow mound of earth of considerable height, which stood on the outskirts of the open common or Links of Leith, from the top of which an extensive view was commanded on every side. There was an ascent to those remains of the ancient bastion by means of a flight of stone stairs; and from the promenade being long a favourite resort on account of the view which it afforded, it was known by the name of the "Lady's Walk." From this point the walls extended nearly in a line with Constitution Street, diverging on either side towards the central bastion of the east wall, which projected considerably beyond

[1] "The Council unanimously understood, that the Kirk of the Citadell [of Leith], and all that is therein, both timber, seats, steeple, stone, and glasswork, be made use of and used to the best avail for reparation of the Hospital Chapel, and ordains the Treasurer of the Hospital to see the samen done with all conveniency."—Excerpt from the records of Heriot's Hospital, April 7, 1673.

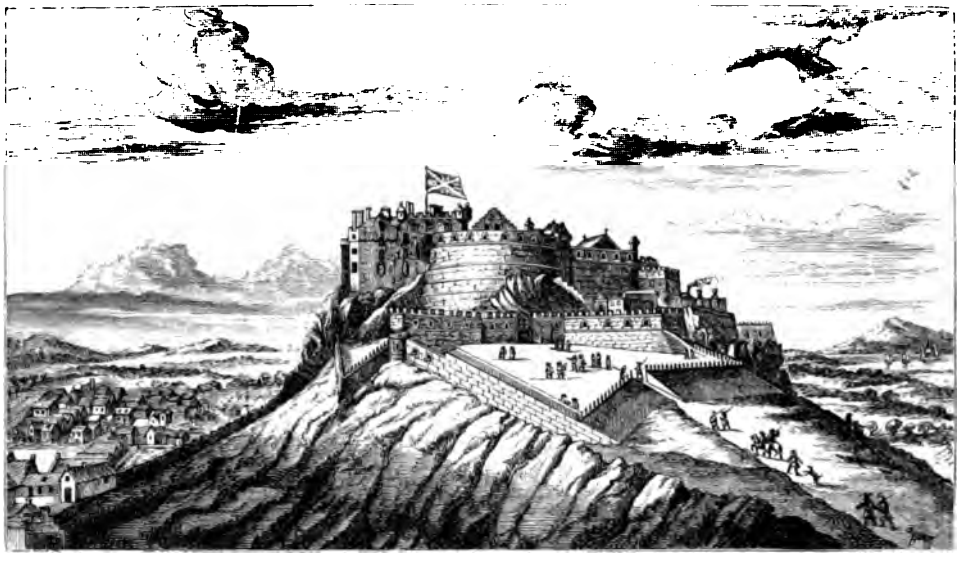
[2] Campbell's *Hist. of Leith*, p. 303.

[3] *Ante*, vol. i. p. 70.

the others, and crossing the line of street obliquely towards the south-west corner of St. Mary's churchyard. The chief gate of the town was St. Anthony's Port, where the walls intersected the Kirkgate; and beyond this point no vestige of them has remained since the middle of the sixteenth century, although they extended thence to the river, and were continued on the opposite side so as to enclose the more modern suburb that formed the nucleus of North Leith. No sooner was the treaty concluded which put an end to the siege of Leith in 1560 than the fortifications that had been reared with so much labour and skill were ordered to be razed to the ground; the Council of the kingdom and the magistrates of Edinburgh being too keenly impressed with a sense of their mischievous effects in the hands of an enemy to appreciate the value of a stronghold as one of the keys of the kingdom, which had baffled the united forces of England and Scotland to compel its surrender. The following is the order of the Council, issued at Edinburgh the 2d July 1560, commanding their immediate demolition: "Forsameikle as it is noturlie knawyn how hurtful the fortifications of Leith hes bene to this haille realme, and in specialle to the townes next adjacent thairunto; and how prejudiciall the samen sall be to the libertie of this haille countrie in caiss straingears sall at any tyme hereafter intruse thameselfs thairin: For thir and siclyke considerations the counsall has thocht expedient, and chargis the provest, baillies, and counsall of Edinburgh, to tak order with the town and commentie of the samen, and causs and compell thame to appoint ane sufficient nomar to cast down and demolish the south pairt of the said town, begynand at Sanct Anthones Port, and passing westward to the Water of Leith, making the block-hous and courteine equal with the ground." In obedience to this order, the whole of the fortifications facing Edinburgh appear to have been immediately levelled with the ground. Those on the east, however, remained long after nearly entire. They are represented in a perfect state, extending uninterruptedly from Bernard's Nook to the point of intersection at the Kirkgate, in a plan of Leith by Captain Greenville Collins, dedicated to Sir James Fleming, who was Provost of Edinburgh in 1681; and considerable remains of them were only cleared away in opening up Constitution Street and the neighbouring approaches.

To the westward of Leith lies the ancient village of Newhaven, or *Our Lady's Port of Grace*, as it was termed of old. It originated in the general impetus given to trade and commerce during the prosperous reign of James IV. Owing to the depth of water, a yard and dock were erected there for shipbuilding, and a harbour constructed for the reception of vessels, from whence it received the name of Newhaven. A chapel was soon afterwards erected and dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St. James; considerable remains of which may still be traced in the ancient cemetery of the village, con-

sisting chiefly of rude but massive rubble walls. The jealousy of the citizens of Edinburgh, however, could not brook such a rival; and so the rising haven was strangled almost at its birth. They purchased the superiority of it from James V; and the Chapel of St. James, which appears to have been a dependency of the Preceptory of St. Anthony at Leith,[1] being suppressed at the Reformation, the new haven sank into the mere fishing-village it still remains. The houses are mostly of a homely and uninteresting character; though on one near the west end of the village a large sculptured pediment is decorated with a pair of globes, a quadrant, anchor, etc., surmounted by a war-galley of antique form, and with the inscription and date, IN THE NEAM OF GOD, 1588, the memorable year of the Spanish Armada, of which it may possibly be a memento.



Old view of Edinburgh Castle, showing prospect beyond.

The old ballad, "Within a mile of Edinburgh Town," would have a very different significance at this later date of our new edition, than what it conveyed even fifty years ago. But in the earlier half of the eighteenth century the view from the Castle, northward and westward, looked over green fields and suburban dwellings. St. Cuthbert's was a rural parish, and the Kirkbrae Head, where St. John's Chapel now stands, overlooked the little hamlet surrounding the ancient church dedicated to the favourite Northumbrian saint. The accompanying view of the Castle, before the site of the old spur had been transformed into the modern esplanade, shows the

[1] "Rentale Portus Gracie alias vocata lie New Havyne."—M.S. Advoc. Lib. *Analysis of Chartularies*, J. G. Dalyell, Esq.

open landscape, with its fields and hedgerows stretching to the base of Corstorphine Hill.

Notwithstanding the modern title of the New Town of Edinburgh, it is not altogether destitute of antique and curious associations deserving of notice in these memorials of the olden time. It has not yet so completely swallowed up the ancient features of the landscape that stretched away of old beyond the sedgy banks of the North Loch, but that some few mementoes of bygone times may still be gleaned amid its formal crescents and squares. In preparing the site of the New Town, and excavating foundations of the houses, numerous relics of the aboriginal owners of the soil have been brought to light. In the summer of 1822 an ancient grave was discovered by some workmen when digging the foundation of a house on the west side of the Royal Circus. It was lined all round with flat stones, and the form of a skeleton was still discernible when opened, lying with the head to the south; but the whole crumbled to dust so soon as it was touched. During the following year, 1823, several rude stone coffins were disclosed in digging the foundation of a house on the north side of Saxe-Coburg Place, near St. Bernard's Chapel; one of which contained two rude urns of baked clay, now preserved in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries. Other stone coffins were discovered about the same time immediately opposite to St. Mary's Church, in levelling the ground for the New Road;[1] and similar evidences of the occupation of the district by native tribes at a remote period are frequently met with all round Edinburgh. Several such were found in 1846, along the coast of Wardie, in excavating for the foundations of one of the bridges of the Granton Railway. Other discoveries belong to historic times. During some earlier operations for the same railway, on the 27th September 1844, silver and copper coins of Philip II of Spain, along with a quantity of human bones mingled with sand and shells, were discovered, apparently at a former level of the beach: which were supposed to be mementoes of some Spanish galleon of the Great Armada. Rude sepulchral urns have also repeatedly occurred. Several such, filled with decayed and half-burned bones and ashes, were exhumed in digging for the foundation of the north pier of the Dean Bridge. They are slightly burned, and the ornamental devices traced in the soft clay bear a striking resemblance to those usually found on the rude native pottery discovered on the sites of Indian villages and in grave-mounds of the North American continent. Annexed is a view of one of those discovered at the Dean, and now in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries.

Ancient Urn.

[1] *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. iii. p. 48.

Another interesting feature which belongs to the history of the New Town in common with many other cities, is the absorption of hamlets and villages that have sprung up at an early period in the neighbouring country and been gradually swallowed up within its extending outskirts. First among such to fall before the progress of the rising town was the village of Moutrie's Hill, which stood on the site now occupied by the Register Office and St. James Square, the highest ground in the New Town. This suburban hamlet is of great antiquity, and its etymology has been the source of some curious research. Lord Hailes remarks on the subject, "*Moutrees* is supposed to be the corruption of two Gaelic words, signifying the covert or receptacle of the wild boar."[1] It appears, however, from contemporary notices, to have derived its name from being occupied by the mansion of the Moutrays, a family of distinction in the time of James V. A daughter of Alexander Stewart, designated of the Grenane, an ancestor of the Earls of Galloway, who fell at the battle of Flodden, was married in that reign to Moutray of Seafield.[2] Upon the 26th April 1572, while the whole country around Edinburgh was a desolate and bloody waste by reason of long-protracted civil war, a party of the Regent Mar's soldiers, who had been disappointed in an ambuscade they had laid for seizing Lord Claud Hamilton, one of the opposite leaders, took five of their prisoners, Lieutenant White, Sergeant Smith, and three common soldiers, and hanged them immediately on their return to Leith. The leaders of the Queen's party in Edinburgh retaliated by like barbarous executions, "and causit hang the morne theirefter twa of thair souldiouris vpoun ane trie behind Movtrays Hous, in sicht of thair aduersaris, in lycht, quha hang ane day, and wer takin away in the nycht be the saidis aduersaris."[3] Another annalist, who styles the locality "the Multrayes in the hill besyid the toun," adds, "The same nycht the suddartis of Leith come to the said hill and cuttit doun the deid men, and als distroyit the growand tries thairabout, quhairon the suddartis wer hangit. Thir warres wer callit amang the peopill the Douglass wearres."[4] Near to the scene of those barbarous acts of retaliation, on the ground now occupied by the buildings at the junction of Waterloo Place with North Bridge, formerly stood an ancient stronghold called Dingwall Castle. It is believed to have derived its name from John Dingwall, who was provost of the neighbouring Collegiate Foundation of Trinity College, and one of the original judges of the Court of Session on the spiritual side. The ruins of the castle appear in Gordon of Rothiemay's map as a square keep with round towers at its angles; and some fragments of it are believed to be even now extant among the foundations of the buildings on its site. Near to this also there would appear to have been an hospital for lepers in early times, from an entry in the Council Records of

[1] *Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 96.
[2] Wood's *Peerage*, vol. i. p. 618.
[3] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 262.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 294.

30th September 1584, where Michael Chisholm and others are commissioned to inquire into "the estait and ordour of the awld fundatioun of the Lipperhous besyde Dyngwall." A rural mansion, which occupied in former days the north-eastern slope of Moutrie's Hill, still remains,—a curious waif surviving the radical changes that have transformed the silent fields in which it stood into populous streets and squares. From its elevated position,—on the hill where the *Queen's men* hung up their adversaries as a point visible alike to Edinburgh and Leith,—it must have commanded a magnificent prospect of the Lothians and Fifeshire, with the Forth, the German Ocean, and the Highland hills. Now it is buried among lofty tenements, in one of the most populous districts of the New Town, and with miles of streets and houses on every side interposing between it and the distant country. This nucleus of the New Town is not, however, the oldest building it contains. A small fragment of an ancient thoroughfare on the west side of the Register Office still retains the name of Gabriel's Road, although it has been closed for many years, and reduced to a mere passage leading to one or two private dwellings: a New Town *close*, in fact, somewhat worse than many of its defamed precursors of the Old Town. This mean-looking alley is the remains of a country road, along which some venerable citizens still remember to have wended their way between green hedges that skirted the pleasant meadows and corn-fields of Wood's farm; and which was, in days of yore, a favourite trysting-place for lovers, where they breathed out their tender tale of passion beneath the fragrant hawthorn. It led in an oblique direction towards the ancient village of Silvermills, and its course is still indicated by the irregular slant of the garden walls that separate the little plots behind Duke Street from the East Queen Street Garden.

When James Craig, the architect, a nephew of the poet Thomson, published his engraved plan of the new city, which had been selected as the best from a host of competing designs, he appended to it the following lines from his uncle's poem on "Liberty":—

> "August, around, what Public Works I see!
> Lo, stately streets! lo, squares that court the breeze!
> See long canals and deepened rivers join
> Each part with each, and with the circling main,
> The whole enliven'd Isle."

The regular array of formal parallelograms thus sketched out for the future city was received by the denizens of the Old Town with raptures of applause. Pent up in narrow and crooked wynds, its broad, straight avenues seemed the *beau ideal* of perfection, and the more sanguine of them panted to see the magnificent design realised. Some echo of their enthusiastic admiration still lingers among us, but it waxes feeble and indistinct. The most hearty contemners of the dingy, smoky Old Town now admit that

neither the formal plan nor the architectural designs of the New Town evince much taste or inventive genius in their contriver; and perhaps even a professed antiquary may venture to hint at the wisdom of our ancestors, who carried their road obliquely down the steep northern slope from Moutrie's Hill to Silvermills, instead of devising the abrupt precipitous descent from where the statue of George IV now stands to the foot of Pitt Street: a steep which strikes a stranger with awe, not unmingled with fear, on his first approach to our "Modern Athens" from the neighbouring coast. The original plate of James Craig's "Plan of the New Streets and Squares intended for the City of Edinburgh," published in the year 1768, and dedicated to His Majesty George III, was acquired by the late Dr. David Laing, and through his kindness was added to the illustrations of the first edition of this work. It is even more formal and insipid than the square blocks of houses which have been erected according to its scheme, and appears singularly destitute either of inventive ingenuity or adaptation to the natural features of the ground. The North Loch was to be preserved in the form of a *long canal*, in accordance with the motto selected by him from his uncle's poem; and its banks are laid out on both sides in formal avenues and squares, repeating the parallelograms of the neighbouring streets. The sites of St. James Square, Shakespeare Square, Leith Street, and all to the eastward, remain in a state of nature. St. Ninian's Row extends its unbroken range to the foot of Leith Street; and the steep acclivity of the High Calton is the only access to the Calton Hill. St. Andrew's Church is introduced on the open ground in front of the mansion afterwards built by Sir Laurence Dundas, on the east side of St. Andrew Square, now occupied as the Royal Bank of Scotland. It was designed, in accordance with the studied regularity of the whole plan, to form a counterpart to St. George's Church in Charlotte Square, or *St. George's Square*, as it was named before the rival extension over the southern districts pre-occupied the term. The building of St. Andrew's Church on its present site was suggested at a later period, as an appropriate counterpoise to the Physicians' Hall, erected in 1775. We are not aware if any of the competing plans for the extended royalty are now in existence, but none of them could outdo that of Craig in formality and sameness of idea. The enthusiasm of his patrons, however, abundantly evinced their conviction that they were honouring a genius of no common order. He was presented with a gold medal bearing the city arms and a suitable inscription; and received along with it the freedom of the city in a silver box. One idea is peculiarly apparent from many circumstances attending the first proceedings in carrying out the New Town, namely, that the design then adopted was complete in itself. Old citizens who had been born, and had passed a long lifetime, in the unchanging alleys of the ancient capital conceived that, in building a New Town it was to be completed according to their notions, and then to

endure for centuries with the same persistency as had characterised its venerable precursor. The very name of York Place serves to preserve the notion they entertained, that the south side of that street was to be the extreme northern boundary of the extended royalty, looking out on an uninterrupted view towards the sea; and to the same idea we are in some degree indebted for the Queen Street Gardens, which now form so valuable a feature of the New Town. It may be presumed, indeed, that the courageous adventurers who first began to build on these remote outskirts of civilisation as little dreamt of extending buildings interrupting their view, as an inhabitant of Brighton Parade, or the builder of a marine villa on the sands of Portobello, could anticipate some daring speculator rearing houses between him and the sea!

The collection of national portraits formed by Dr. David Laing included one of James Craig, painted probably by Martin. He also possessed the plan of the New Town as revised by the architect in 1774. In his portrait he is represented seated, and contemplating with much complacency the later version of his plan, which included a circus at the intersection of George Street and Castle Street; while an elevation of the Physicians' Hall, which he believed was to hand down his name with honour to posterity, is spread out at his feet. It is an amusing example of the vanity of the best-laid schemes for honour and fame. Already the *chaste Grecian architecture* of this Temple of Esculapius has been swept away with the same remorseless zeal with which its designer contemplated the supplanting and final extermination of the ancient capital. It was a building of graceful proportions, though exhibiting no originality in its design; and great lack of contrivance in its internal arrangements. The fine portico of the Commercial Bank of Scotland, which now occupies its site, leaves little cause to mourn over the demolition of James Craig's *magnum opus*.

Various other changes were effected on the original plan before it assumed permanent shape even on paper. The good citizens, with becoming loyalty to their old patron saint, decided on naming the new terrace that was to adorn the northern bank of the North Loch, St. Giles Street; but when "the Plan of the new streets and squares intended for His ancient capital of North Britain," was submitted to George III as a great national undertaking worthy of His Majesty's patronage, the King at once objected to a dedication so plebeian, according to the notions of the southern capital, and it was accordingly named Prince's Street, in honour of the heir-apparent to the throne.

The Sister Arts are represented on the engraved plan assembled round the ornamental tablet inscribed with its name; and while Architecture places above it a shield bearing the arms of Edinburgh, winged cherubs are descending and crowning the divine sisterhood with wreaths of flowers, in

honour of their grand achievement: so complacently did architect and citizens unite in their admiration of this commonplace design!

James Craig, architect, was the son of William Craig, merchant in Edinburgh, and Mary, youngest sister of James Thomson, the author of the "Seasons." We are not aware what were the advantages he enjoyed as a student of architecture, but his plan for the New Town appears to have first brought him into notice. Only six years before the commencement of the works beyond the North Loch, Sir Robert Mylne was employed to furnish the design for St. Cecilia's Hall, in the Cowgate. It was built after the model of the great theatre Farnese at Parma, and though now long deserted by the votaries of St. Cecilia, it was admirably adapted for the purposes of a concert-room; its oval form and elliptical ceiling, as well as the skilful arrangement of the seats, uniting to convey every note clearly and distinctly to the auditors. In this respect the great Music Hall of the New Town is decidedly inferior, notwithstanding the lapse of above eighty years since the building of St. Cecilia's Hall, and the great attention devoted in the interval to the practical application of acoustics in architecture. The professional skill of Craig was almost entirely exercised on the private dwellings of the first emigrants to the extended royalty; and such of those as have escaped remodelling in the rapid changes of taste and uses that have taken place of late years exhibit little that is calculated to gratify the eye. In 1786 he issued a quarto pamphlet illustrated with engravings, containing a scheme for remodelling the Old Town. The principal novelty proposed by him is an Octagon at the intersection of the North and South Bridges with the High Street, having the Tron Church in the centre. The elevations which he furnishes for the proposed buildings are in very questionable taste. Beyond this, his plan exhibits a Crescent, stretching across the South Bridge from the foot of Infirmary Street to the Horse Wynd. "The figure of the Crescent," says the author, "embraces the University and the Royal Infirmary, and would represent the city, like an open, generous friend, with extended arms, giving a hearty welcome to all strangers from the south"! It was a period when a mania for *improving* the Old Town raged like some contagious distemper. No wonder that the designer of the New Town should have been smitten by it. Fortunately, however, it was easier to improve in theory and on paper than practically on old masonry. The proportions and ornamental details of Craig's best work, the Physicians' Hall, indicated an acquaintance with ancient models, beyond which comparatively few modern architects ever venture. He died in Edinburgh on the 23d of June 1795.

The charm of the Old Town is its thorough adaptation to the wonderfully striking site which slopes upward from the valley of Holyrood to the crowning heights of the Castle rock. On this commanding ridge the old town gradually grew and adapted itself as naturally as the ivy to rock or

ruined tower. The architect of the New Town seems to have set the peculiarities of its site at defiance, and dealt with the long northern slope towards the sea as if it had been as level as the prairies on which the new cities of western America are laid out in uniform quadrangles and numbered avenues. Whatever beauty pertains to the result is due to the site; with the fine terrace of Princes Street, separated by the gardened valley from the antique town and Castle; and towards the north, the wonderful glimpses of the Forth, and all the fine landscape beyond. When in some future century this New Town shall have become in its turn the subject of manipulation for reforming architects and improvements commissioners, their first scheme wil probably lead to the restoration of Gabriel's Road and its counterpart fro Charlotte Square to Pitt Street, marking the saltier of Scotland's patr saint on the antiquated parallelograms of James Craig.

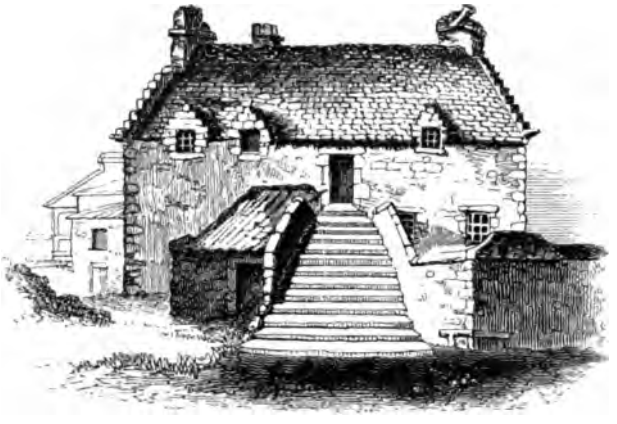
The village of Silvermills, the remains of which lie concealed behin Stephen's Church and the modern streets that surround it, may not impro owe its origin to some of the alchemical projects of James IV or V of whom were greatly addicted to the royal sport of hunting for the r metals, with which the soil of Scotland was then believed to abou Archibald Napier, the father of the philosopher, was appointed ma mint, and superintendent of the mines and minerals within the K and we are assured, on the authority of an ancient manuscript in the Col Library, that "The Laird of Merchiston got gold in Pentland Hills."[1] The village of Silvermills consists almost entirely of a colony of tanners, but one or two of its houses present the crow-stepped gables of the seventeenth century; and though now enclosed within the extended town, we can remember many a Saturday's ramble through green fields that ended at this *rural hamlet.*

Another and more important village, which has experienced the same fate as that of Silvermills, is the ancient baronial burgh of Broughton. Its name occurs in the charter of foundation of Holyrood Abbey, granted by David I. in 1128, and implies, according to Maitland, the *castle town.* If it ever possessed a fortalice or keep, from whence its name was derived, all vestiges of it had disappeared centuries before its fields were invaded by the extending capital. The tolbooth, however, wherein the baron's courts were held, and offenders secured to abide his judgment or to endure its penalties, stood within these few years near the centre of the old village, bearing over its north door the date 1582. Its broad flight of steps was appropriately flanked with a venerable pair of stocks; a symbol of justice of rare occurrence in Scotland, where the *jougs* were the usual and more national mode of pillory. The annexed vignette will suffice to convey some idea of this antique structure, which stood nearly in the centre of the New Town, on the

[1] *Miscellanea Scotica*, Napier of Merchiston, p. 228.

ANCIENT HOUSE CANONMILLS.

ground now occupied by the east end of Barony Street, from whence it was only removed, with all its paraphernalia of obsolete manners and laws, in the year 1829. The curious rambler may still stumble on one or two of the humble tenements of the old village, lying concealed among the back lanes of the modern town. A few years since, its rows of tiled and thatched cottages, with their rude fore-stairs and loophole windows, contrasted most strangely with the adjoining fashionable streets and squares. A view of one of the most characteristic of them: "The Witches' Houff," is given in our *Reminiscences of Old Edinburgh.*



Tolbooth of Broughton.

This ancient barony, and the surrounding lands comprehended within its jurisdiction, were granted by James VI in 1568 to Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, in whose time the Tolbooth of the burgh appears to have been erected. The bishop surrendered the lands to the Crown in 1587, in favour of Sir Lewis Bellenden of Auchnoul, Lord Justice-Clerk; who obtained a charter from the King uniting them into a free barony and regality. Broughton is reputed to have been notorious in old times as a haunt of witches, who were frequently incarcerated in its Tolbooth. An execution of these victims of superstition which occurred there under peculiarly horrible circumstances, during the period of its possession by the Bellendens, is thus noticed in the minutes of the Scottish Privy Council: "1608, December 1. —The Earl of Mar declared to the Council that some women were taken in Broughton as witches, and being put to an assize, and convicted, albeit they persevered constant in their denial to the end, yet they were burned quick, after such a cruel manner, that some of them died in despair, renouncing and blaspheming [God]; and others, half-burned, brak out of the fire, and were cast quick in it again, till they were burned to death."[1] Sir William Bellenden, the grandson of Sir Lewis, disposed of the whole lands to Robert, Earl of Roxburgh, in 1627; and by an agreement between him and Charles I, this ancient barony passed by purchase to the Governors of Heriot's Hospital in 1636, to whom also the superiority was yielded by the Crown, partly in payment of debts due by the King to the Hospital.

[1] *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*, Sir Walter Scott, p. 315.

Thenceforward the barony was governed by a bailiff nominated by the Governors of the Hospital, who possessed even the power of life and death: the privilege of *pit and gallows* which every feudal baron claimed within his own bounds. In 1721 the Treasurer of the Hospital complains of the expense incurred in prosecuting offenders in a case of some murders committed within the regality; but those onerous and costly privileges were at length abrogated in 1746, by the Act abolishing heritable jurisdictions; and the Governors a few years afterwards granted the use of the Tolbooth to one of their tenants as a storehouse, "reserving to the Hospital a room for holding their baron courts when they shall think fit."[1] The last occasion on which Old Broughton was directly associated with any event of public importance was during the memorable campaign of 1650, which preceded the battle of Dunbar, when General Leslie made it his headquarters, while he threw up the line of defence from the base of the Calton Hill to Leith, already described as the origin of the great causeway that now forms the chief thoroughfare between Edinburgh and Leith.

Beyond the village of Broughton lies that of Canonmills, on the Water of Leith, which owes its origin to the same source as the Burgh of Canongate, having been founded by the Augustine Canons of Holyrood, doubtless for the use of their own vassals on the lands of Broughton and their neighbouring possessions. Above this, on the Water of Leith, are the villages of Stockbridge, Bell's Mills, and the Dean, all of considerable antiquity, and now joined to the extended capital, or disappearing before the encroachments of its modern streets. David I. grants to the Abbey of Holyrood, in its foundation charter, one of his mills of Dean, with the tenths of his mills of Liberton and Dean; and although all that now remains of the villages of Bell's Mills and the Dean is of a much more recent date, they still retain unequivocal evidences of considerable antiquity. Dates and inscriptions, with crow-stepped gables and other features of the seventeenth century, are to be found scattered among the more modern tenements; and it was only in the year 1845 that the curious old mansion of the Dean was demolished, for the purpose of converting the Deanhaugh into a public cemetery. This was another of those fine old aristocratic dwellings that once abounded in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, but which are now rapidly disappearing, along with so many other interesting memorials of former times. It was a monument of the Nisbets of the Dean, a proud old race now extinct. They had come to be the head of their house, as the old herald, Alexander Nisbet, with touching pathos, relates, owing to the failure of the Nisbets of that Ilk in his own person, and as such "laid aside the Cheveron, a mark of cadency used formerly by the House of Dean, in regard that the family of Dean is the only family of that name in Scotland that has right, by consent, to

[1] Dr. Steven's *History of Heriot's Hospital*, pp. 118, 119.

THE DEANHAUGH.
(Reduced from a Sketch by the Author.

represent the old original family of the name of Nisbet, since the only lineal male representer, the author of this system, is like to go soon off the world, being an old man, and without issue male or female."[1] The earliest notice in the Minutes of Presbytery of St. Cuthbert's, of the purchase of a piece of family burying-ground, is by Sir William Nisbet of Dean, in March 1645, the year of the plague. "They grantit him ane place at the north church door, eastward, five elnes of lenth, and thrie elnes of bredth."[2] It appears to have been the piece of ground in the angle formed by the north transept and the choir of the ancient church of St. Cuthbert; and the vault which he erected there still remains, surmounted with his arms: a memorial alike of the demolished fane and the extinct race. When we last saw it, the old oak door was broken in, and the stair that led down to the chamber of the dead choked up with rank nettles and hemlock: perhaps the fittest monument that could be devised for the old Barons of the Dean, the last of them now gathered to his fathers.

The old mansion-house bore on a sculptured stone over the east doorway the date 1614, but other parts of the building presented evident traces of an earlier date. The large gallery had an arched ceiling, painted in the same style as one already described in Blyth's Close, some portions of which had evidently been copied in its execution. The subjects were chiefly sacred, and though rudely executed in distemper, had a pleasing effect when seen as a whole. One of the painted panels bore the date 1627. The dormer windows and principal doorways were elaborately decorated with sculptured devices, inscriptions, and armorial bearings, illustrative of the successive alliances of its owners. Some of those have been preserved in the boundary walls of the cemetery that now occupies the site of the old garden and pleasure-grounds. Among the most curious of them are two pieces of allegorical sculpture in *basso relievo*, which surmounted two of the dormer windows on the south front. On one of them is a singular group suggestive, at first glance, of the youthful David rescuing one of his flock from a lion and a bear. A man is shown armed with a thick pole, which he holds by a hook at the end. A goat is running towards him, as if to butt at him, while a bear seizes it with its teeth; and another animal, lion or bear, lies dead beyond. The significance and application of the design were, no doubt, fully apprehended by the older occupants of the Dean, though they are no longer obvious. But it is not improbable that both sculptures referred to incidents in the family history. Such, at least, is suggested in reference to the second device by its heraldic accompaniment.

[1] Nisbet's *Heraldry*, vol. ii. part 4, p. 32. Alexander Nisbet, Gent., published the first volume of his system of heraldry in 1722; his death took place shortly afterwards.—*Vide* Preface to 2d Edition Fol.

[2] *History of the West Kirk*, p. 24.

It apparently embodies an allegory of judicial rectitude interposed on behalf of innocence assailed by powerful and unscrupulous violence. A judge is represented seated, with a lamb in his arms. In his right hand he holds a pair of scales, and in his left hand a drawn sword. A lion rampant stands on either side: the one resting his fore-paw on the sword, and the other placing a paw in one of the scales. This curious bas-relief occupied the upper part of a pointed arch on the pediment of one of the dormer windows, and underneath it are the Hope arms. In all probability, therefore, this scene of legal interposition between the lions and the lamb refers to an alliance with the famous judicial house of the great Lord Advocate. It may have embodied an allusion to some special incident in the family history; but if so, the key to the ingenious allegory has perished with the last of the race.

Another of the hamlets which the encroachments of the modern city have effaced had a very different history from that of the village of Deanhaugh. On the south side of the ancient burgh of Broughton, and nearly on the site of Picardy Place, there existed till near the close of last century a small village or hamlet called Picardy, occupied exclusively by a body of weavers, who are said to have been brought over from the French province of that name by the British Linen Company, and settled there for the improvement of their manufactures.[1] We have found, however, in a copy of Lord Hailes's *Annals*, a manuscript note, apparently written while this little community of foreign artisans were still industriously plying their looms, in which they are described as a body of French refugees, who fled to this country after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and settling on the open common that then lay between Broughton and the old capital, they attempted to establish a silk manufactory. A large plantation of mulberry trees is said to have been laid out by them on the slope of Moutrie's Hill, and other provisions were made for carrying on the operations of the silk manufacture there. It is well known that about 50,000 French refugees fled to England at that period, the majority of whom settled at Spitalfields, while the remainder scattered themselves over the kingdom. To a body of these unfortunate wanderers the hamlet of Picardy probably owed its origin. The failure of their mulberry plantations here, as in other parts of the kingdom, no doubt compelled them to abandon the project; and their experience as silk weavers was probably afterwards made use of in the weaving of linen, on the institution, in 1746, of a company for the encouragement of its manufacture. Since then this chartered body has devoted its large capital exclusively to the purposes of banking; and it is now one of the wealthiest and most influential banking companies of Scotland.

One other locality which has exceptional claims of historic interest is

[1] *Walks in Edinburgh*, p. 217.

the low valley of Greenside skirting the northern base of the Calton Hill. This natural amphitheatre, though now exclusively occupied by workshops and manufactories, or by modern dwellings of a very humble character, was in ancient times a place of considerable importance. It was bestowed on the citizens by James II as an arena for holding tournaments and the like martial sports of the age; and, according to Pennant, it continued to be used for such feats of arms even in the reign of Queen Mary. Here, as he relates, during a public tournament "the Earl of Bothwell made the first impression on the susceptible heart of Mary Stuart, having galloped into the ring down the dangerous steeps of the adjacent hill."[1] A chapel dedicated to the Holy Rood stood in the valley of Greenside, and served in the year 1518 as the nucleus of one of the latest foundations of a monastic institution in Scotland prior to the Reformation; but the history of this and other ancient religious and benevolent foundations is dealt with in the next chapter. During the present century the valley which had been of old devoted to such uses was destined for a very different purpose. When the Union Canal was first projected, its plans included the continuation of it through the bed of the North Loch, where the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway now runs. From thence it was proposed to conduct it to Greenside, in the area of which an immense harbour was to have been constructed; and this again being connected by a canal with the sea, it was expected that by such means the New Town would be converted into a seaport; and so the unhappy traders of Leith be compelled either to abandon their traffic or remove within the precincts of their jealous rivals. Chimerical as this project may now appear, designs were furnished by experienced engineers, a map of the whole plan was engraved on a large scale; and no doubt civic reformers rejoiced in the anticipation of surmounting the disadvantages of an inland position, and seeing the shipping of the chief ports of Europe crowding into the heart of their new capital!

Of the memorials of the New Town, properly so called, very few fall legitimately within the plan of this work; yet even its modern streets possess interesting associations that we would not willingly forego. Reference has already been made to the house which forms the junction with St. Andrew Square and St. David Street, as the last residence of the celebrated philosopher and historian, David Hume: where that strange death-bed scene occurred, which has been the subject of such varied comments, both by the eulogists and detractors of the great sceptic. Directly opposite to Hume's house, on the north side of the square, is the one in which Henry Brougham was born. At that period St. Andrew Square contained the residences of several noblemen, and was deemed the most fashionable quarter of the rising town. The house on the same side, at the corner of St. Andrew

[1] Pennant's *Tour*, vol. i. p. 70.

Street, was the mansion of David Stewart Erskine, Earl of Buchan, and possesses some claim to our interest as the place where the Society of Scottish Antiquaries was instituted in 1780, and where its earliest meetings were held.[1] Within the first eastern division of George Street, the eye of the modern visitor is attracted by the fine portico of the Commercial Bank, a building that seems destined to attest to future generations the skill and taste, if not the inventive genius, of our native architects; yet it occupies the site of the Physicians' Hall, a chaste Grecian edifice designed by Craig, the foundation-stone of which was laid by the celebrated Dr. Cullen in 1774, doubtless with the belief that remote ages might bring to light the memorials which were then buried in its foundations. Nor must we omit to notice a building second to none in its associations with the foremost among the men of letters, alike of Old Edinburgh and the Modern Athens. This is the favourite dwelling of Sir Walter Scott in North Castle Street, "*the dear thirty-nine*," which he left under such mournful circumstances in 1826. The New Town of Edinburgh has already many such associations. It has no great modern Campo Santo to replace the Greyfriars' Churchyard with its historic monuments of later generations. But among its scattered cemeteries are the monuments of its illustrious dead; and in its modern thoroughfares are dwellings associated with such names as Sir William Hamilton, Lord Jeffrey, Lord Cockburn, Dr. Abercromby, Dr. Chalmers, the Baroness Nairne, Carlyle, De Quincey, Sir James Y. Simpson, Dr. John Brown, Edward Forbes, Sir William Allan, Sir George Harvey, Robert Chambers, Hugh Miller, and many others whose names will command the interest of later generations. Our Memorials, however, are of the olden time, and we leave future chroniclers to record those of the modern city.

[1] Paton's *Correspondence*, pp. 170-172.

CHAPTER XI

ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITIES

Corbel in the Choir of Trinity College Church.

THE venerable oratory of St. Margaret, which still, after the lapse of eight centuries, crowns the summit of the Castle rock, claims a foremost place, alike by reason of age and of its historical associations, among the ecclesiastical antiquities of the Scottish capital. The ancient church of St. Cuthbert, which nestled in dangerous proximity to the fortress, has been long displaced by an unattractive modern edifice. The collegiate churches of St. Mary-in-the-Field and the Holy Trinity; the monasteries and churches of the Black Friars, of St. Mary of Placentia, and St. Katherine of Sienna; along with numerous chapels and religious foundations referred to in previous pages, have all disappeared. The names of St. Mary's and Blackfriars' Streets, of the Pleasance and the Sciennes, alone perpetuate some faint memorial of a vanished past. But the mother-church of St. Giles, successively parish and collegiate church and cathedral, not only survives, but has happily renewed its youth under the wiser restorers of 1880; who have striven to undo the sacrilegious misdeeds perpetrated in 1829. The venerable Abbey of the Holyrood, though less fortunate, is still perpetuated, though in ruin, as a memorial of older centuries rich in many stirring associations with national history.

The first parish church built for the little community that gathered in the vicinity of the fortress on the Castle rock is traced back to within less than two centuries after the death of its tutelar saint, the Abbot and Confessor St. Giles, who was born in Greece, of illustrious parentage, in the sixth century. He abandoned his native land, and, bestowing his wealth on the poor, he retired into the wilderness of Languedoc, where he founded the monastery that long perpetuated his name. To some wandering brother

from the banks of the Rhone we probably owe the dedication of the ancient parish church of Edinburgh to St. Giles. The devout queen of Malcolm Canmore doubtless paid due reverence to the saint when she took up her abode in the Castle; and to this we may ascribe the honour rendered at a later date to this favourite saint on the banks of the Thames. Matilda, the daughter of Malcolm Canmore and the Saxon Margaret, became the queen of Henry I. in 1101; and not long before her death she founded there St. Giles's Hospital for lepers. The bishopric of Lindisfarne, which comprehended Lothian, dates so early as A.D. 635; and Simeon of Durham, in reckoning the churches and towns belonging to the see in 854, names *Edwinesburch* among the latter. The church itself is mentioned for the first time in any authentic record in the reign of Alexander II—who succeeded his father, William the Lion, in 1214,—when Baldredus, Deacon of Lothian, and John, perpetual vicar of the church of St. Giles at Edinburgh, affix their seals in attestation of a copy of certain papal bulls and other charters of the church of *Megginche*, one of the dependencies of the Abbey of Holyrood.[1] It was, therefore, still a vicarage in the thirteenth century. It reappears in the following century, when, in 1319, the Bishop of St. Andrews confirmed numerous gifts bestowed on the Abbey of Holyrood. One of these is the gift by the Lady Donoca, with the consent of her husband and son, of all her possessions, made by her in presence of a full consistory held at Edinburgh, in St. Giles's Church, on the Sunday before the feast of St. Thomas, in the year 1293.[2] By the middle of the fourteenth century altarages begin to be founded, as in 1359, when David II, by a charter under the Great Seal, confirmed to the chaplain officiating at the altar of St. Katherine's Chapel in St. Giles's Church all the lands of Upper Merchiston, the gift of Roger Hog, burgess of Edinburgh.

Norman Doorway, North Porch, St. Giles's Church.

The Collegiate Church of St. Giles, as it now stands, is a building including the work of many different periods; and it retained till near the close of last century the elaborately sculptured Norman doorway, shown here, and more fully exhibited in the accompanying plate. It formed the north entrance to the nave, immediately to the east of the Albany Chapel, and afforded evidence that St. Giles's Church shared in the general impetus

[1] *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis*, p. 55.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 81.

given to ecclesiastical architecture at the period of the founding of the Abbey of the Holyrood. The prevalence of Norman remains at Duddingston, Dalmeny, Kirkliston, and other ancient churches in the Lothians prove how largely the example of David I. stimulated the zeal of church-builders in the twelfth century. The venerable nave of the Abbey Church at Dunfermline perpetuates the massive solidity of the era of Canmore and his Saxon queen; but their youngest son resided long at the English court, and introduced into Scotland the more ornate style of the twelfth century, still traceable in some of the original work of Holyrood Abbey, and in the chancel arch, added apparently by him to the little oratory in the Castle, consecrated by the last communion of his sainted mother, Queen Margaret. Down to the middle of the fourteenth century we may picture to ourselves the parish church of St. Giles as a nave and chancel, on a larger scale, but otherwise closely corresponding to the beautiful Norman churches of Leuchars and Dalmeny. But in 1380, and subsequent years, the addition of numerous chapels in the decorated style that then prevailed wrought a transformation on the old Norman building; and this was completed in the extensions carried on during a succession of years, till 1462, when the choir appears to have been enlarged and completed with its clerestory, and the simple nave and chancel of former days expanded into a large cruciform church, with its numerous chapels and altars, soon after organised as a collegiate church with a provost, prebendaries, and choristers. Thus extended, the mother-church was in some degree fitted for the brilliant reign of James IV, in which it received some of its latest and most interesting additions, and had for its provost the gifted poet, subsequently promoted to the bishopric of Dunkeld.

Time wrought its inevitable changes in the centuries that followed. Mediævalists and Reformers, Presbyterians and Episcopalians, alternately struggled for the mastery, and in turn readapted the ancient church to their diverse modes of worship; and the krames and booths of the pent-up traders of Old Edinburgh clustered ever more closely between its buttresses and projecting aisles. But the hand of the tasteless restorer wrought more havoc in a year than all the waste and remodelling of centuries. The old church unquestionably admitted of genuine restoration, and needed the removal of many incongruous additions both externally and internally; and had the work undertaken by William Burn been executed in a reverent spirit, many interesting and beautiful features would have been preserved that are now beyond recall. A minutely accurate view of the south façade as it remained till 1829 was painted by David Allan before the close of the eighteenth century, and exhibits it in all the quaint picturesqueness due to the beautiful south porch, with its fine oriel window lighting the priest's room above, and the successive additions of the Preston Aisle, and numerous chantry chapels erected by Walter Chepman and other pious founders of the

fifteenth century. To those the goldsmiths and other privileged traders had added the booths that lined the north side of the Parliament Close. But the rude excrescences of modern traders and the quaint Gothic carving of mediæval chapel-builders were both swept away with indiscriminating violence. The no less picturesque aspect of the north side of the nave is shown here in the accompanying plate. But all had to give place to the tame uniformity of the tasteless remodeller. Internally much irretrievable mischief was also done; while with the aid of plaster and stucco what remained was disguised in a style of carpenter's Gothic, wellnigh effacing every genuine feature of the ancient edifice. All that seemed left for the local memorialist at the date of our first edition was to endeavour to convey some idea of what the original building had been, and to trace the history of the alterations and additions of older centuries. But happily since then a better taste has revived; and, mainly through the liberality of the late Dr. William Chambers, the venerable collegiate church has been restored internally, as far as now seems possible, to its original condition, with its aisles and transepts opened out anew as in the olden time, when its provost and college of priests officiated at its numerous altars.

In the days of St. Margaret and her sons the old Norman parish church reared its belfry turret amid the rude huts of the Caledonian Celts by whom the long ridge that sloped down from the Castle rock was then occupied. More than two centuries later Froissart reports the hardy Scots exclaiming: "Thoughe the Englishe brinne our houses we care lytell therfore; we shall make them agayne chepe ynough!" But David I. gave the earliest impetus to the future capital. He made the Castle his chief residence; greatly extended its buildings on the model of the Norman strongholds familiar to him during his residence at the court of his brother-in-law, Henry I.; and founded and endowed the Abbey of Holyrood, with its privilege of sanctuary, whereby Edinburgh became the centre towards which the wealth of the Lothians flowed. It is therefore in no degree surprising to find that the earliest memorial of the ancient parish church of St. Giles of which any record remains is the beautiful Norman doorway which formed the entrance to the nave, and may be assumed to furnish evidence of the rebuilding of the church at the time when David's munificent royal foundation was in progress in the neighbouring valley.

The venerable parish church of the twelfth century was never entirely demolished. If its sacred character secured it no immunity from violence, its substantial masonry was probably very partially affected by the ravages of the invading forces of Edward II, in 1322, when Holyrood was spoiled; or by those of his son in 1355, when the whole country was wasted with fire and sword. The town was again subjected to the like violence, probably with results little more lasting, by the conflagration in 1385, when an

English army under Richard II occupied it for five days, and then laid it in ashes. The Norman architecture disappeared piecemeal, as chapels and aisles were added to the original fabric by the piety of private donors, or by the zeal of its own clergy to adapt it to the wants of the rising town. In all the changes that it underwent for above seven centuries, the original north door, with its recessed Norman arches and grotesque decorations, commanded the veneration of the innovators, and remained a precious relic of the past, until tasteless improvers of the eighteenth century swept it away.

As the population of the town increased, and it advanced in wealth and importance, altars and chapels were founded and endowed by its own citizens, or by some of the eminent Scottish ecclesiastics who latterly resided in Edinburgh; so that St. Giles's had acquired numerous altarages and chaplainries, previous to its erection into a collegiate church by the charter of James III in 1466. As usual with all large churches, St. Giles's presented internally the form of a cross, with the central tower placed at the junction of the nave and choir with the transepts. Externally, however, this had almost entirely disappeared, owing to the numerous chapels and aisles added at various dates; and its cruciform plan has only been restored by sacrificing some of the most interesting and unique features of the ancient building. Previous to the alterations of 1462, notwithstanding the general enlargement of the church by the addition of one or more rows of chapels on either side of the nave, no portion of the central building appears to have been elevated into a clerestory; and in the nave this addition forms one of the alterations effected in 1829. Before that remodelling, the nave was only elevated a few feet higher than the aisles, and was finished in the same style as is still seen in the original groined roof of the north aisle. The south aisle is the work of a later age, with richer moulded ribs and more elaborately sculptured bosses of its groined roof. Its style suffices to show that it was rebuilt in 1387, along with the five chapels to the south, hereafter described; the erection of which necessarily involved the demolition of the old aisle and the external wall of the nave. Over the vaulted roof of the centre aisle, in the space now occupied by the clerestory, a rude attic was erected at a subsequent date, which included several apartments, latterly occupied as the residence of the bell-ringer with his wife and family, who ascended to their airy abode by the turret stair that rose into an octagonal spire, as shown in the vignette at the head of Chapter II. The arches of the tower still show the original height of the nave, and also of the choir prior to its enlargement in the reign of James III.

The evidence of the lengthening of the choir and the elevation of the centre aisle at the period referred to is still manifest. The two easternmost arches are wider and loftier than the others; and the whole work is of a more ornate character. Instead of the plain octagonal shafts with moulded

capitals and bases, the shafts are fluted, and surmounted with capitals elaborately decorated with armorial bearings and angels' heads, and their bases enriched with foliated sculpture. The later style and more ornate character of the groined roof suffice to show that the choir was lengthened subsequent to the construction of its clerestory. The groined roof in its eastern compartments is formed by concentric arches springing from four sides and meeting in the keystone; so that the apex of the clerestory windows can rise no higher than the spring of the arch, whereas in the two easternmost compartments, the groined arches rise to the height of the central rib, admitting of windows of a like elevation and proportionate size. No less obvious tokens indicate the original condition of the centre aisle, corresponding to that of the old nave. Flaws in the lower part of the walls mark distinctly how far the old work was taken down; and portions of the original groining springing from the capitals of the pillars remain only partially chiselled away. The beauty of the groining and sculptured bosses of the later extension fully confirm its assignment to the period when the collegiate church of the Holy Trinity was in progress. On the central boss at the division of the two eastmost compartments is the sacred monogram ihs, boldly cut on a large shield; and on the adjoining one to the west, a star in bold relief is encircled with the legend, Ave . gra . pla . dns . tecu, an abbreviation of the salutation of the Virgin: *Ave Maria gratia plena Dominus tecum.* Those inscriptions probably stood directly over the high altar, which does not appear to have been removed from its original position on the extension of the choir eastward; as we find that Walter Bertrame, burgess of Edinburgh, by a charter dated 20th December 1477, founded a chaplainry at "the altar of St. Francis, situate behind the great altar," and endowed it with various annual rents from properties in Edinburgh and Leith.[1]

The ornate devices which give a special character to the numerous additions to St. Giles's, subsequent to its erection into a collegiate church, include many armorial bearings of definite historical significance. A view has already been given of the capital of the north-east, or King's pillar, as it is usually called. It bears on one side the lion rampant within the double tressure: the royal arms of Scotland; and here, no doubt, those of James II. On the north side are those of his queen, Mary of Gueldres, the foundress of the collegiate church of the Holy Trinity, impaling the royal arms. On the south side the three fleurs-de-lys are presumed to stand for France; and on the remaining shield the lion of Scotland is repeated within the double tressure, with a label of three points, as the arms of the infant prince, afterwards James III. The birth of the latter in 1452, and the death of James II only eight years later by the bursting of a cannon

[1] Maitland, p. 271; *Inventar of Pious Donations*, MS. Advocates' Library.

at the siege of Roxburgh Castle, fixes the period within which this important addition to the church was carried out; and with this the remaining armorial bearings in no degree conflict. The shields of the corresponding pillar on the south side bear the arms of the good town; of Kennedy, three cross-croslets with the double tressure, possibly for Bishop Kennedy, the able counsellor of James II, and guardian of his son; who was promoted to the metropolitan see in 1440, and died 1466; of Otterburn, three otters' heads erased; and of Preston of Craigmillar. On the engaged pillar on the north side of the great window, a shield bears three cranes gorged, for Thomas de Cranston, a man of influence at the period, who filled the office of chief magistrate in 1451, and was repeatedly employed by the King on foreign embassies. The arms on the pillar to the south of the great window are probably those of Alexander Napier of Merchiston, who was Provost in 1457. The Lennox shield, a saltire engrailed, cantoned with four roses, was assumed by the Napiers about the same period. In full accordance with the dates thus indicated by the commemorative shields of the chief benefactors to the work then in progress, Maitland remarks: "In the year 1462 a great work seems to have been in hand at this church; for it was by the Town Council ordained that all persons presuming to buy corn before it was entered should forfeit one chalder to the church work." This may be assumed to refer to the additions to the choir begun in the reign of James II and then in progress, though it will be seen that other works were proceeded with about the same time.

To the south of the choir, a second aisle of three arches with a richly groined ceiling forms the Preston Aisle, erected in accordance with a charter granted to William Prestoune, of Gortoune, by the town of Edinburgh in 1454, setting forth "yat forasmekle as William of Prestoun the fadir, quahm God assoillie, made diligent labour and grete menis, be a he and mighty Prince, the King of France, and mony uyr Lordis of France, for the gettyn of the arme bane of Saint Gele;—the quhilk bane he freely left to our moyr kirk of Sant Gele of Edynburgh, withoutyn ony condition makyn;—we, considrand ye grete labouris and costis yat he made for the gettyn yrof, we p^{mit}, as said is, yat within six or seven zere, in all the possible and gudely haste we may, yat we sal big an ile, furth fra our Lady Ile, quhare ye said William lyes, ye said ile to be begunyin within a zere; in ye quhilk ile thare sal be made a brase for his lair in bosit werk; and abone ye brase a Rellyk of brase, with a writt specifiand ye bringing of yat Rellyk be him in Scotland, with his armis; and his armis to be putt in hewyn werk in uyr thre partis of ye ile." The charter further binds the Provost and Council to found an altar there, with a chaplain; and secures to the lineal descendants of the donor the privilege of bearing the precious gift of St. Giles's arm-bone in all public processions. The arms of Preston, three

unicorns' heads, are carved on one of the bosses of the groined roof of the aisle, in accordance with the requirements of the charter; and the same may be seen repeated at various points on the ancient family stronghold of Craigmillar Castle, along with the rebus, a press and tun, or barrel. Others of the bosses are decorated in like manner, with the arms of Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, quartered with those of Vaux, Lord of Dirleton, by the marriage of Sir Patrick Hepburn of Hales with the co-heiress of that family. Patrick, Lord Hales, was Provost of Edinburgh in 1487; and perhaps this is indicated by the burgh arms sculptured on one of the bosses. The Prestons continued annually to exercise their chartered right of bearing the arm-bone of the patron saint till the memorable year 1558, when the College of St. Giles walked for the last time in procession, on the 1st of September, the festival of St. Giles, bearing a statue hired for the occasion from the Gray Friars, to personate the great image of their patron saint, as large as life, because "the auld Saint Geile" had been first drowned in the North Loch as an adulterer, or encourager of idolatry, and thereafter burnt as a heretic. Only two years before, the Dean of Guild paid 6s. "for paynting of Sant Geile," and "for mending and polishing Saint Gelis arme, 12d." But his honours were rudely brought to an end by the rioters of 1558; and only four years thereafter the saint's silver work, ring, and jewels, with all the vestments used in the decoration of his image and prized relic on his annual festival, were sold by authority of the magistrates, and the proceeds applied to the repair of the church.

It is curious to learn that in the year 1554, or within four years of the date when the festival of Edinburgh's patron saint was celebrated for the last time, and his arm-bone was stripped of its jewels and cast away as a worthless object of superstition, another arm-bone of the saint was presented to the church of St. Giles at Bruges, where it is still preserved as an object of veneration, with the silver setting that enables us to form some idea of the prized relic enshrined of old in the Preston Aisle.[1] A flutter of excitement revived the long-forgotten devotion to the saintly relic, when, in the process of transforming the east aisle of the north transept of St. Giles's Church into a memorial chapel in honour of its restorer, Dr. William Chambers, an arm-bone was found deposited under the flooring of what, after the Reformation, had been appropriated to the use of the Dean of Guild, the custodian of the desecrated relic, when it was despoiled of its silver work. Some markings on the new-found bone were thought to indicate traces of its artificial setting, and the rumour spread that the work of restoration was completed by the recovery of the arm-bone of St. Giles. The *Scotsman* of 18th September 1890 accordingly reports: "Since the discovery was

[1] A view of the arm-bone of St. Giles of Bruges is given in Dr. J. Cameron Lees's *St. Giles', Church, College, and Cathedral*, p. 14.

made, Archbishop Smith, who has been very much interested in the matter, has written to the Bishop of Bruges asking for information concerning the relic of St. Giles, which is one of the treasures of the cathedral there." A telegram in reply is reported to state that "the bone preserved there is the left arm-bone of the saint." "As the bone found in St. Giles's is also a left arm-bone, the telegram from Bruges," says the prudent editorial commentator, "makes the task of identifying it one of additional difficulty."

The reverence for such saintly relics, and the faith in their healing virtues, were on the wane in that sixteenth century long before the summary desecration of St. Giles and his arm-bone; but Sir David Lindsay deserves more credit than has been assigned to him for the irreverent handling of the saint on the return of his festival in September 1558. His *Monarchie* was finished in 1553, and had then full time to have produced its influence on the popular mind. His description of the honours paid by the citizens of Edinburgh to their patron saint is sufficiently graphic; nor does he hesitate to forewarn the clergy of the confusion and "recompence" that so speedily followed:—

"Of Edinburgh, the greit idolatrie,
And manifest abhominatioun,
On thair feist day, all creature may see,
Thay beir ane auld stok image throuch the toun,
With talbrone, trumpet, schalme, and clarioun;
Quhilk hes bene usit mony ane yeir bygone,
With priestis, and freiris, into processioun,
Siclyke, as Bell wes borne throuch Babylone.

"Fy on yow, freiris! that usis for to preiche,
And dois assist to sik idolatrie:
Quhy do ye nocht the ignorant pepill teiche,
How ane deid image carvit of ane tre,
As it war haly, suld nocht honourit be;
Nor borne on burges backis, up and doun:
Bot, ye schaw planelie your hypocrisie,
Quhen ye pas formest in processioun.

"Fy on yow fosteraris of idolatrie!
That till ane deid stok, dois sik reverence,
In presens of the pepill publicklie;
Feir ye nocht God, to commit sik offence?
I counsall yow do yit your diligence,
To gar suppresse sik greit abusioun:
Do ye nocht sa, I dreid your recompence,
Sal be nocht ellis, bot clene confusioun."

Unless we are prepared to accept the duplicate left radius of 1890 as the veritable relic of Edinburgh's patron saint, the arm-bone of St. Giles, procured at so great a cost, and commanding of old the devout admiration of the faithful, after being despoiled of its costly jewelled case, was probably

flung out into the neighbouring churchyard to mingle unheeded with the ashes of forgotten generations. One fact, however, determined by the charter granted by the magistrates to Preston of Gortoun, is that the Lady Aisle, where the altar of the blessed Virgin Mary stood, was part of what now forms the south aisle of the choir or High Church. To this altar one of the earliest recorded gifts was granted in the reign of David II, viz. "Carta to the Lady Altar of St. Geille's, of ane tenement in Edinburgh, given by William Here, burges of Edinburgh."[1] From the style of architecture which prevails through the older parts of the collegiate church, we feel little hesitation in assigning the main portion of the fabric to the close of David's reign, which extended from 1329 to 1371, and to that of his successor Robert II. It is finished in that simple and comparatively plain style of pointed architecture which Dallaway designates Pure Gothic, and of which no specimen will be found later than the fourteenth century. It was a period of almost incessant wars, involving the whole nation in misery for years; but it was no less characterised by religious zeal, encouraged, no doubt, in some degree, by the fact that ecclesiastical property was the only species of possession that had any chance of escaping the fury of the invaders. Edward III, however, carried on his Scottish invasion with a ferocity that spared not even the edifices consecrated to religion. In 1355 he desolated the country on to Edinburgh, and laid every town, village, and hamlet in ashes, though not without suffering reprisals from the assaults of the hardy Scots. This bloody inroad, associated in the minds of the people with the unwonted sacrilege of the invaders, as it happened about the time of the Feast of Purification, was popularly known as *the Burnt Candlemas*.[2] In this desolating invasion St. Giles's Church, no doubt, suffered greatly; but the misery of the people, and the uncertainty involved in such a state of continual warfare, did not prevent the restoration of their churches, and we accordingly find in the Burgh Records a contract made in the year 1380 between the Provost and some masons to vault over a part of the church. This was, no doubt, speedily accomplished, as in 1384 the Scottish barons assembled there and resolved on renewing the war with England, notwithstanding the desire of Robert II for peace. The result was that Edinburgh was exposed to another general conflagration by the invading army of Richard II, and the church of St. Giles is expressly mentioned by Wynton as involved in the general destruction. There is no reason, however, to conclude from this that the massive walls of the old Gothic fabric were razed to the ground by the flames that reduced to ruin the simple dwellings of the burghers. The cost of its restoration appears to have been borne by the Government; and

[1] Robertson's *Index*, 1798, temp. David II, p. 66. The date of the charter is 1365. *Regist. Mag. Sigill.*, p. 54. The deed of gift to St. Katherine's Altar in the same reign is dated 1359.

[2] Dalrymple's *Annals*, pp. 237, 238.

various entries occur in the accounts of the Great Chamberlain of Scotland, rendered at the Exchequer between the years 1390 and 1413, of sums granted for completing its re-edification. Nevertheless, the archives of the city preserve evidence of additions being made to the original fabric out of its own funds only two years after the conflagration; and this is confirmed by the character of the work, which is the intermediate between the simple forms of the old nave and the ornate style of the choir.

The contract for the additions made to St. Giles's Church from the revenues of the town and the contributions of its wealthier citizens, at the time when the main fabric was left to be restored from the general revenues of the kingdom, while it affords an insight into the progress of the building at that date, cannot but be regarded as a curious proof of that singular elasticity which the Scottish nation displayed during their protracted wars with England; showing, as it does, the general and local governments vieing with one another in the luxury of ornate ecclesiastical edifices almost as soon as the invaders had retreated across the Border. The agreement bears to be made at Edinburgh, 29th November 1387, between "Adam Forstar Lorde of Nethir Lebertoun, Androw Yutsoun, Prowest of the Burgh of Edynburgh, and the Communitie of that ylke on the ta half, and Jonne Prymros, Jonne of Scone, and Jonne Skuyer, masounys, on the tothir half," and requires that "the forsaidys Jonne, Jonne, and Jonne, sall mak and voute fyve Chapellis on the south syde of the Paryce Kyre of Edynburgh, fra the west gavyl lyand in rayndoun est on to the grete pyler of the stepyl, voutyt on the maner and the masounry as the vout abovyn Sant Stevinys auter, standand on the north syde of the parys auter of the Abbay of the Halyrudehous. Alsua tha ylk men sal mak in ylk Chapel of the four, a wyndow with thre lychtys in fourme masonnelyke, the qwhilk patrone thai haf sene; and the fyfte Chapel woutyt with a durre als gude maner as the durre standand in the west gavyl of the forsaid kyrk. Alsua the forsayde fyve Chapellys sal be thekyt abovyn with stane, and water thycht." It is somewhat quaintly added that this written agreement is sealed with the seals of the Lord of Nether Liberton, the Provost, and the common seal of the burgh; but "John Primros has procurit the selle of James of Fulforde, and John of Scone the selle of John of Irwyne in failyhe thai hade nane of their awyne."[1] The whole of these five chapels remained, with their beautiful groined roofs and clustered columns, until the *restoration* in 1829, when the two west ones were demolished, apparently for no better reason than because they interfered with the architect's formal cruciform design. The third chapel retained till the same recent date the beautiful vaulted entrance erected in 1387; it was an open porch, with a richly groined ceiling, and over it a small chamber, lighted by an oriel window, the corbel of which was

[1] *Hist. Notices of the Church of St. Giles*, p. ix.

an angel holding the city arms. A facsimile of this has been transferred to the west side of the aisle,[1] though not only without either the beautiful porch which it surmounted, or the picturesque turret stair which formed the approach to the Priest's Chamber, but, owing to the destruction of the latter, with no reason for its existence. The demolition of the porch led to the discovery of a large accumulation of charters and ancient records of the city, which had been placed at some early period in the chamber. It contained also a series of pictorial decorations which appear to have been painted on the panelling of the chamber about the period of the Revolution, when it formed an appendage to the Council Chambers. The only fragments of these that have been preserved were secured by Mr. C. K. Sharpe, and include a trumpeter, a soldier bearing a banner, and a female figure holding a cornucopia. The figures, which are above half life-size, are works of some merit, so far as can be judged from their fragmentary condition when rescued from the ruins of the ancient vestry. The two eastern chapels, which escaped destruction, retain the original groining, constructed upwards of five centuries ago in imitation of St. Stephen's Chapel in the Abbey of Holyrood.

An aisle appears to have been added at a later period to the south of the two last chapels, the beautifully groined roof of which was as rich as any portion of the choir. This appears to be the chapel referred to in a "charter of confirmation of a mortification by Alexander Lauder of Blyth, Knight, to ane altarage of St. Gilles Kirk," dated 17th August 1513,[2] by which he founded a "chaplainry in the New Chapel, near the south-western corner of the church, in honour of God, the Virgin Mary, and Gabriel the Archangel."[3] It consisted of two arches extending between the porch and the south transept, and in the south wall, between the two windows, stood a beautiful altar-tomb under a deep recess, decorated with elaborate and unique devices. Underneath the corbels from which the crocketed arch springs, two shields are cut, bearing the emblems of our Saviour's Passion, the one on the right having the nails, spear, and reed with the sponge, and the other the pillar and scourges. The pinnacle with which the arch terminates is adorned with the emblem of a heart within the crown of thorns, and on either side of it a lion and dragon are sculptured as supporters. On the top of this an ornamental corbel formerly supported a clustered pillar, from the capital of which the rich groining of the roof spread out its fan-like tracery towards the fine bosses of the centre keystones. All this, how-

[1] The carved stones of the original window were nearly as fresh and sharp as when first executed. Among other interesting fragments rescued at the same period, there is a very fine stoup for holy water, formed in shape of a shallow basin, with a large star covering it, and leaving the interstices for the water. It had projected from the wall on a richly flowered corbel, which has been broken in its removal.

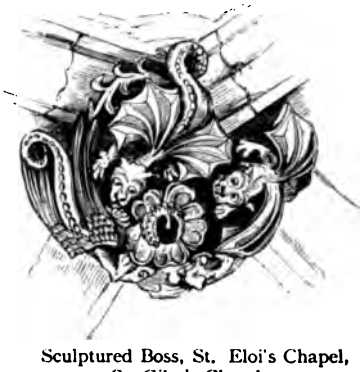
[2] *Inventar of Pious Donations*, MS. Advocates' Library. Alexander Lauder was Provost in 1501-3, and again in 1508-10.

[3] Maitland, p. 271.

ever, was sacrificed in the process of effecting a cruciform arrangement and so securing the insipid uniformity of modern architecture. One half of the aisle has been demolished, and a wall built across the space where the clustered pillar formerly supported the beautiful roof of the chapel. Here may have been the altar of "The Holy Cross of the body and blood of Christ," for latterly more than one stood in most of the numerous chapels and aisles. It has been assumed to be "The Holy Blood Aisle"; but the description in an entry in the Burgh Records, 25th November 1564, ordering "to big up the south Kirk dur, entering throuch the said Kirk yaird be the Halye Blude Ile," seems to indicate the western aisle, of which only the bay on which the porch opened now remains. The arched recess, so elaborately adorned with the symbols of the Passion, may have been the Easter Sepulchre. Happily it escaped destruction, and has been rebuilt in the mutilated aisle; though it no longer stands between two windows with a clustered column springing from the corbel that rested on its apex, and formed a combination constituting altogether one of the choicest architectural features of the ancient edifice.

Judging by the style of ornament, and especially by the rich groining of the roof in the range of chapels on the north side of the nave, they appear to be of a later date than those built in 1337 on the south side. While still intact they consisted of two bays on each side of the Norman porch. Above this was a chamber styled the Priest's Room. It no doubt served as a vestry for some of the priests officiating at the numerous altars; but Maitland gives it the name of the Priest's Prison, as the place of durance in olden times for culprits who had incurred the Church's censures. The name may have originated in its later appropriation as the prison in which Sir John Gordon of Haddo was secured in 1644, previous to his trial and execution; whence also one of the places of worship into which the nave was divided derived its singular misnomer of "Haddow's Hole." The porch and one of the chapels to the east of it have disappeared in the remodelling of the church, although they formed very picturesque features externally, with their pointed gables and steep roofs "theikit with stane"; and with them also the deep archway was removed, under which stood till the close of the eighteenth century the most ancient fragment of the parish church. The eastmost of those chapels now appears externally as the west aisle of the north transept. It was the only portion of the church retaining any of the coloured glass with which, doubtless, most of its windows were anciently filled. Its chief ornament consisted of an elephant, very well executed, underneath which the crown and hammer, the armorial bearings of the Incorporation of Hammermen, were enclosed within a wreath. From these insignia we may infer that this was St. Eloi's Chapel, at the altar of which, according to the traditions of the burgh, the craftsmen of Edinburgh who

had followed Allan, Lord High Steward of Scotland, to the Holy Land, and aided in the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre from the infidels, dedicated the famous *Blue Blanket*, or "Banner of the Holy Ghost."[1] The large and beautiful centre keystone of this chapel, after passing from the collection of Mr. C. K. Sharpe to the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, has been restored to its old place in the groined ceiling. It is adorned with a richly sculptured boss, formed of four dragons with expanded wings each different in design, and their tails extended, so as to cover the intersecting ribs of the groined roof. The centre is formed by a large flower, to which an iron hook is attached; from whence, no doubt, anciently depended a lamp over the altar of St. Eloi, the patron saint of the Hammermen of Edinburgh. The painted glass from the chapel window, it is to be hoped, still exists in the possession of some private collector. From the rarity of such remains in Scotland, it would have possessed even a greater value than the beautiful keystone, had it been possible to replace it in the old chapel to which it belonged. The view of the church from the north-west, as shown on the accompanying plate, will suffice to convey some idea of the singularly picturesque appearance of this part of the old building externally, even when encumbered with the last of the Krames, and with its walls and windows defaced with many incongruous additions of later date. A restoration of this would have well rewarded the labour of the architect, and merited a grateful appreciation, which few indeed will accord to the uniformity that has been effected by its sacrifice. The two western chapels still remain, with a light and elegant clustered pillar, adorned with sculptured shields on a rich foliated capital, from which spring the ribs of the groined roof and the arches that divide it from the adjoining aisle. The ornamental sculptures of this portion of the church are of a peculiarly striking character. On the centre keystone of the eastern chapel the monogram of the Virgin is inwrought with the leaves of an encircling wreath, and the same is repeated in a simpler form on one of the bosses of the neighbouring aisle. But the most interesting decorations are the heraldic devices which form the prominent ornaments on the capital of the pillar. These consist, on the south side, of the arms of Robert, Duke of Albany, the second son of King Robert II; and on the north side, of those of Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas. At the date of the erection of this new aisle, the Duke of Albany, in his capacity as



Sculptured Boss, St. Eloi's Chapel, St. Giles's Church.

[1] Pennecuick's *History of the Blue Blanket*, p. 28.

Chamberlain, made numerous payments while the work was in progress; and the Earl was not only in closest relations with him, but was the most influential Scottish noble at the period. It is in no way extraordinary, therefore, that their arms should occupy a prominent place among the architectural decorations introduced on the central pillar of the chapel. But the conjunction of their armorial bearings, thus bringing their names together into prominent relation with a benefaction to the church, naturally recalls another and very different deed, in which tradition assigns to them the chief, if not the sole part. In the year 1401 David, Duke of Rothesay, the unfortunate son of Robert III, was arrested by his uncle, the Duke of Albany, with the consent of his father, who had been incensed against him by the daily complaints which his uncle contrived to have carried to the old King's ear. The story in its latest form is the work of Hector Boece; but earlier authorities furnish evidence enough to give every probability to the tragic tale, the incidents of which have been woven into a romance of such thrilling interest in the pages of *The Fair Maid of Perth*. According to the story as told by Boece, the Duke of Rothesay was committed a prisoner to the dungeon of Falkland Castle, and there starved to death, notwithstanding the intervention of a maiden and nurse, who experienced a far different fate from that assigned by Scott; though their efforts to rescue the Prince from his horrible death are reproduced with considerable accuracy. "The Blacke Booke of Scone saith, that the Earle Douglas was with the Governour when he brought the Duke from Saint Andrew's to Falkland,"[1] having probably been exasperated against the latter, who was his own brother-in-law, by the indignity which his licentious courses put upon his sister. Such are the two Scottish nobles whose armorial bearings still form the chief decorations of the capital of the pillar in the

The Albany Chapel, St. Giles's Church.

[1] Hume of Godscroft's *Hist. of the Douglases*, p. 118. Hume attempts to free the Earl from the charge, but with little success.

chapel. They thus appear once more acting in concert in what, as an act of atonement for such a deed of violence, would be thoroughly in accordance with the spirit of the age, were it not for the inconsistency with their known line of action of any such avowal of guilt. But for this it might not be wholly fanciful to infer from such a conjunction of their arms that the chapel might have been founded by them as an expiatory offering, and its chaplain appointed to say masses for their own and their victim's souls. A view of this interesting and beautiful part of the interior of St. Giles's Church is given in the accompanying vignette.

The transepts of the church, as they existed before 1829, afforded no less satisfactory evidence of the progress of the building. Distinct traces remained of the termination of the south transept a few feet beyond the pillars that separated the south aisle of the choir from Preston's, or the Assembly Aisle, as it was latterly termed. Beyond this the roof is at a greater elevation, and the groining entirely differs from the older portion, exhibiting unequivocal evidence of being the work of a later age. This part of the church forms the most interesting portion of the building, from its many associations with events and eminent men of other days. Here it was that Walter Chepman, burgess of Edinburgh, famous as the introducer of the printing-press into Scotland, founded and endowed a chaplainry at the altar of St. John the Evangelist, "in honour of God, the Virgin Mary, St. John the Apostle and Evangelist, and all Saints." The charter is dated 1st August 1513, an era of peculiar interest. Scotland was then rejoicing in all the prosperity consequent on the brilliant reign of James IV. Learning was visited with the highest favour of the Court, and literature was rapidly extending its influence under the zealous co-operation of Dunbar, Douglas, Kennedy, and others, with the royal master-printer. Only one month thereafter, Scotland lay at the mercy of her southern rival. Her king was slain; the chief of her nobles and warriors had perished on Flodden Field; and adversity and ignorance again replaced all the advantages that had followed in the train of the gallant James's rule. Thenceforth the altars of St. Giles's Church received few and rare additions to their endowments. There is good reason for believing that Walter Chepman was interred in the south transept of the church, close by the spot where "the Good Regent," James, Earl of Murray, the Regent Morton, and his great rival the Earl of Atholl, were buried, and adjoining the aisle where the mangled remains of the great Marquis of Montrose were deposited, with every mark of honour, on the 7th of January 1661. This receives strong corroboration from an agreement entered in the Burgh Registers, 30th June 1579, by which the Council "grantis and permittis that upon the west part of Walter Chepmanis Iyle, fernent the Earl of Murrayis tombe, sal be brokin, and thair ane buriall place be maid for the Earle of Athole."

The Regent's monument, which has been restored to its original site on the west side of the south transept, is on many accounts an object of peculiar interest. As the memorial erected to one who had played so conspicuous a part in one of the most momentous periods of national history, it is calculated to awaken many stirring associations. The scene which occurred when the good Regent's remains were committed to the tomb was itself not the least interesting among the memorable occurrences that have been witnessed in the church of St. Giles, when the thousands who had assembled within its walls were moved to tears by the eloquence of Knox. "Vpoun the xiiij day of the moneth [of Februar, 1570,] being Tyisdaye," says a contemporary, "my lord Regentis corpis being brocht in ane bote be sey fra Striueling to Leith, quhair it was keipit in Johne Wairdlaw his hous, and thairefter caryit to the palace of Halyrudhous, wes transportit fra the said palace of Halyrudhous to the college kirk of Sanctgeill in this manner; that is to say, William Kirkaldie of Grange knycht, raid fra the said palice in dule weid, beirand ane pensall quhairin wes contenit ane reid lyoun; efter him followit Coluill of Cleishe, maister houshald to the said regent, with ane vther pensell quhairin wes contenit my lord regentis armes and bage; efter thame wes the Erlis of Athole, Mar, Glencarne, lordis of Ruthvene, Methvene, maister of Grahame, lord Lindsay, with diuerse vtheris barronis, beirand the saidis corpis to the said college kirk of Sanctgeill, quhairin the samyne wes placeit befoir the pulpett; and thairefter Johne Knox minister made ane lamentable sermond tuitching the said murther; the samin being done, the said corpis wes burijt in Sanct Anthoneis yle within the said college kirk."[1] The Regent's monument, surmounted with his arms, and bearing as its chief feature the fine brass graven with the figures of Justice and Faith, and the epitaph composed by Buchanan[2] for the purpose, has already been described. But it is worthy of note that the removal of the brass from its original matrix disclosed the fact that it is engraved on the reverse of the central portion of a large sepulchral brass, which not improbably adorned the floor of St. Giles's Church at an earlier period. When complete it had borne two full-length figures, male and female, with a richly diapered ground and ornamental border, and an inscription running round the border, of which there only remain, on the right side, SPOUSE . OWMQUHILE . OF . YE . SAID . THO . . . ; and on the other side, WHILK . DIET . THE . THIRD . DAY . OF . AUGUST . AN . . . . We know of at least one other brass which adorned the Preston Aisle, where it was placed in 1454, in memory of William Prestoune of Gortoune, and of his invaluable gift "of the arme bane of Saint Gele." The monument which stood directly opposite to that of the Regent was that of the Earl of Atholl, who was buried with great solemnity in the south

[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 158.

[2] Calderwood's *Hist.* vol. ii. p. 526.

aisle of the church on the 4th of July 1579. The sumptuous preparations for this funeral led to the interference of the General Assembly, by whom "commissioun was givin to some brethrein to declare to the lords that the Assemblie thought the croce and the stroups superstitious and ethnick like, and to crave they may be removed at the Erle of Atholl's buriall. The lords answered, they sould caus cover the mortcloath with blacke velvet, and remove the strowpes."[1] The lords, however, failed in their promise. The *strowpes*, or flambeaux, were used on the occasion, notwithstanding the promise to the contrary, in consequence of which a riot ensued. Crawford[2] describes the stately monument erected over the Earl's grave; but from his allusion to an allegorical device of a pelican, vulned, feeding her young—the crest of the Earls of Murray, but an emblem, as he conceives, designed to signify the devotion borne by the Earl of Atholl to his country,—he evidently had that of the Regent in view. There was a vacant panel on the monument, apparently intended for inserting a brass plate similar to that on the Earl of Murray's tomb, but, if ever inserted, it had been removed. The coat of arms on the top had been defaced, and all that remained was a representation of two pigeons, and the date 1579.[3] The portion of the church which contained those monuments was approached by a door from the Parliament Close, which was never closed, so that the Regent's Aisle was, like old St. Paul's, a public promenade, and a common place for appointments. It is alluded to in Sempill's satirical poem "The Banishment of Poverty," as a convenient lounge for idlers, where he humorously describes the repast provided for him by the Genius of Poverty—

> "Then I knew no way how to fen;
> My guts rumbled like a hurle-barrow;
> I dined with saints and noblemen,
> Ev'n sweet Saint Giles and Earl of Murray."

It probably originated no less in the veneration with which "the Good Regent" was regarded than in the convenience of the place, that it was a common occurrence to make bills payable at "the Earl of Murray's tomb," and to fix on it as the place of assignation for those who proposed entering on any mutual contract. Such a custom is one of long standing. A remarkable charter of James II in 1452, entailing the lands of Barntoun on George, Earl of Caithness, and his heirs and assigns, and his natural daughter, has this proviso, that he, or his assigns, should cause to be paid to his bastard daughter, Janet, on a particular day, between the rising and setting of the sun, in the parish church of St. Giles, in his burgh of Edinburgh, upon the high altar of the same, three hundred marks, usual money.[4]

[1] Calderwood's *Hist.* vol. iii. p. 446.
[2] Crawford's *Officers of State*, p. 136; Nisbet's *Heraldry*, vol. ii. Ap. p. 180.
[3] Kincaid's *Hist. of Edinburgh*, p. 179.
[4] *Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 774.

The good Regent's tomb appears to have taken the place of the high altar, in later times, for such secular uses. Among the Closeburn papers in the possession of Mr. C. K. Sharpe was a contract by his ancestor, Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick, entered into in the reign of Charles I, for a considerable sum of money, which it makes payable at Earl Murray's tomb. When, in 1636, the venerable collegiate church of older times was advanced to the rank of a cathedral, "the Town Council ordered one of the bailiffs and one of the clerks of Edinburgh to desire James Hanna, the Dean of St. Giles's Church, to repair to Durham, to take a draught of the choir of the Cathedral Church in that city, in order to fit up and beautify the inside of St. Giles's Church after the same manner."[1] The alterations and adornments thus authorised were still in progress on the memorable 23d of July 1637, and hence it was in the same south transept, and not in the choir that Jenny Geddes's famous onslaught on the Dean occurred.[2] A very characteristic episode or by-play, which was enacted in a corner of the church while the heroine of the cutty stool was playing her more prominent part with the Dean, is thus narrated by a contemporary: "A good Christian woman, much desirous to remove, perceaving she could get no passage patent, betooke herselfe to her Bible in a remote corner of the church. As she was there stopping her eares at the voice of popische charmers, whome she remarked to be verie headstrong in the publict practise of their anti-christiane rudiments, a young man sitting behind her beganne to sound foarth, *Amen!* At the hearing therof, she quicklie turned her about, and after she had warmed both his cheekes with the weight of her hands, she thus schott against him the thunderbolt of her zeal: 'False theefe! (said she,) is there no uther parte of the kirke to sing masse in but thou must sing it at my lugge?' The young man, being dashed with such ane hote unexpected rencounter, gave place to silence in signe of his recantatione."[3] The organisation of the Bishopric of Edinburgh, and the appointment of the collegiate church of St. Giles to be the cathedral of the diocese, thus led to its temporary restoration internally to something like its ancient appearance. But ere the royal commands could be carried into effect for the demolition of all the galleries and subdivisions, and its adaptation as the cathedral church of the new bishop, the entire system of Church polity for which these changes were designed had come to a violent end, involving many more important things in its downfall. But many traces of the condition of the church in older centuries survived those repeated changes; nor was it till the sweeping alterations of 1829 that the ancient sepulchral slabs disappeared from the flooring of its aisles. "In this Isle," says Kincaid, "are sundry inscriptions in Saxon characters,

[1] Maitland, p. 281. [2] *Lord Rothes' Relation*, Append. p. 198.
[3] *A Breefe and true Relatione of the Broyle, etc.*, 1637.

cut on the pavement, of very coarse sculpture." Similar ancient monuments covered the floor in other parts of the church, but every vestige of them has been swept away. A large portion of one, boldly cut and with the date 1508, was transferred to the nursery of Messrs Eagle and Henderson. The inscription runs round the edge of the stone in Gothic characters, and contains the name and date thus :—

Jacobi . lame . qui . obiit . ano . dm . m° . v° . octavo.

A shield in the centre bears a lamb, the heraldic emblem of the deceased. Other two of those monumental stones, now nearly defaced, form the paving in front of the Fountain Well!

The north transept retained till 1829 the evidences of its survival as a portion of the old parish church before it expanded into the collegiate church of the fifteenth century, with its provost and chapter, and its numerous chapels and altars. It had been a narrow transept without side aisles, and with the turret-stair, which gave access to the roof and belfry, constructed externally in the angle formed by its junction with the nave. But its peculiar features were effaced in the process of transforming the accumulated structures of successive generations and of diverse styles of art into a modern cruciform church of formal regularity. The turret-stair, with its picturesque stone roof, as shown in our view of St. Giles's from the north-west, was replaced by another which blocked up the area of St. Eloi's Chapel, and was finished externally with the crocketed spire which still remains. Happily, in the more conservative restorations since carried out under the liberal guidance of Dr. William Chambers, the intrusive structure has been so far removed as to admit of the restoration of the Chapel of St. Eloi, with the reinstatement of its elaborately sculptured keystone in the renewed groining of the roof. An aisle had been built on the east side of the north transept, apparently about the end of the fifteenth century. It was finished internally with a beautiful groined roof, the ribbed arches of which sprang from sculptured corbels, with finely-decorated bosses at their intersections. But it had long been diverted to the use of the town-clerk, while the city police were accommodated in the main aisle and adjoining chapels, and the area under the central tower was walled off and turned to the base use of a place of durance for petty criminals. The reverent spirit of earlier times, which led to the adornment of every lintel and entablature with its appropriate legend or scripture text, if it could have tolerated such an act of sacrilege, would have found a fitting motto for the north doorway of old St. Giles's in the text: "*My house shall be called the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thievcs.*"

In the rearrangement of the restored church of 1829 the office of the town-clerk was turned to use as a vestry, without disturbing the flooring by which

it was divided into two stories. But in the aim of a more reverent generation to mark its appreciation of the services of the later restorer of the collegiate church, this aisle has been appropriated as a memorial chapel in which to place a monument to Dr. William Chambers. In the process of its restoration a beautiful window in the perpendicular style was disclosed in what had been the external wall of the transept, built up on the addition of the east aisle. This relic of the older features of the church, which happily escaped the ravishes of successive "restorers," forms a peculiarly appropriate feature in "The Chambers Memorial Chapel."

In the subdivision of the ancient church for Protestant worship, the south aisle of the nave, with three of the five chapels built in 1389, was converted into what was called the Tolbooth Kirk. Frequent allusions, however, by early writers, in addition to the positive evidence occasionally furnished by the records of the courts, tend to show that both before the erection of the new Tolbooth, and after it was found inadequate for the purposes of a legislative hall and court-house, the entire nave of St. Giles's Church was used for the sittings of both assemblies, and is frequently to be understood as the place referred to under the name of the Tolbooth. In the trial, for example, of "Mr. Adame Colquhoune, convicted of art and part of the treasonable slaughter and murder of umq^le^ Robert Rankin," the sederunt of the court is dated 16th March 1561-62, "In Insula, vocat. Halie-blude Iill, loco pretorii de Ed^r.^"[1] and nearly a century later, Nicoll, the old diarist, in the midst of some very grave reflections on the *instabilitie of man, and the miseries of kirk and stait* in his time, describes the frequent changes made on "the Kirk callit the Tolbuith Kirk, quhilk wes so callit becaus it wes laitlie the pairt and place quhair the criminall court did sitt, and quhair the gallous and the mayden did ly of old; lykewyse, this Kirk alterit and chayngit, and of this one Kirk thai did mak two."[2] During the interval between the downfall of Episcopacy in 1639 and its restoration in 1661, a constant succession of changes seem to have been made on the internal subdivision of St. Giles's Church, though without permanently affecting the original features of the building.

Externally, the alterations of 1829, though greatly injuring the old church and destroying many of its most characteristic features, especially in its south front towards the Parliament Close, did effect some improvement. Many of the buttresses had been injured or entirely removed to make way for the booths erected against its walls, and the mullions and tracery of some of the windows had disappeared, and been replaced by clumsy wooden sashes. The west front of St. Giles's Church was, no doubt, originally characterised by the usual amount of ornament expended on this part; and indeed traces of the original details remained in the form of canopied niches,

[1] Pitcairn's *Crim. Trials*, Supplement, p. 419.

[2] Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 170.

gargoyles, and other fragments of ornate ecclesiastical architecture, scattered in an irregular manner through the rude masonry. In the contract entered into in 1387 for the erection of five chapels on the south side of the church, "fra the west gavyl," it is conditioned that "the fyfte chapel sal be voutyt, with a durre in als gude maner als the durre standand in the west gavyl of ye forsaid kyrk." This refers to the fine doorway that stood in the south porch till its demolition in 1829, which is now rebuilt in the east end of the Preston Aisle. This affords some definite clue to the ornate character of the ancient west front. But when it was rebuilt, by order of the Town Council, in 1561, the church was hemmed in on that side with buildings, so that there was little inducement to erect more than a plain wall. Here, therefore, the modern restorer had a fair field for the exercise of his art; though in availing himself of it he showed no true feeling for the architecture of the fourteenth century. The addition of buttresses at the east end is an improvement, though unfortunately involving the sacrifice of "our ladie's niche," and the original design of the fine tracery of the great east window has been preserved. On the north side of the choir the monument of the Napier family, marking the reputed tomb of the inventor of logarithms, has been preserved, and forms a conspicuous and interesting feature. An ornamental tablet in the style of his period, and indeed resembling in design that of the title-page of the first edition of the Logarithms, published at Edinburgh by Andrew Hart in 1614, bears the inscription: S . E . P . FAM . DE NAPERORVM INTERIVS HIC SITVM EST. Over this are the arms of the Napiers of Merchiston and Wrychtishouses, sculptured on two distinct though attached shields. This is a piece of work of earlier date, removed from the interior of the church, where it stood over an altar-tomb in an arched recess under the same window, indicating apparently the common burial vault of the two families. Here, as we are assured by his biographer, the unvarying traditions among the descendants of the Scottish philosopher assign his place of burial, where his ancestors had founded a chantry. There can be little doubt that the site of the altar-tomb corresponded with that of St. Salvator's altar, to the chaplain of which Archibald Napier of Merchiston in 1494 mortified an annual rent of twenty merks out of a tenement near the College Kirk of the Holy Trinity.[1]

The present graceful Crown Tower of St. Giles's, which forms so striking a feature not only of the church but of the city, dates no farther back than the year 1648, when it was rebuilt on the model of the older tower, which had then fallen into decay. Of the four bells, which seem to have formed the whole complement of the belfry in early times, one, which bore the name of *St. Mary's Bell*, was taken down at the same time that St. Giles's arm-bone was cast forth as a relic of superstition, and "with the brazen pillars in the church, were ordered to be converted into great guns for the use of the

[1] *Inventar of Pious Donations*, MS. Advoc. Lib.

Town," a resolution so far departed from, that they were sold the following year for two hundred and twenty pounds.[1] But one of the original bells has happily escaped the fate of its companions in the old belfry tower, in spite of its perpetuating an invocation to the Virgin, which only required to have been popularly known to have assured its doom. The inscription reads: O . MATER . DEI . MEMENTO . MEI . ANNO D . M . IIII. Two of the remaining bells were recast at Campvere in Zealand, in 1621;[2] and the largest of these having cracked, it was again recast at London in 1846. In 1585 St. Giles's Church obtained some share of its neighbours' spoils, after having been stripped of all its sacred furniture by the iconoclasts of the sixteenth century. That year the Council purchased the clock belonging to the Abbey Church of Lindores in Fife, and put it up in St. Giles's steeple,[3] previous to which time the citizens probably regulated time chiefly by the bells for matins and vespers and the other daily services of the Roman Catholic Church.

Such is an attempt to trace the gradual progress of St. Giles's, from the small parish church of a rude hamlet to the wealthy collegiate church, with its forty altars, and a still greater number of chaplains and officiating priests; and from thence to its erection into a cathedral, with the many vicissitudes it has since undergone. The general paucity of records enabling us to fix the era of the later stages of Gothic architecture in Scotland confers on such inquiries some value, as they suffice to show that our northern architects adhered to early Gothic models longer than those of England; and executed works of great beauty and mechanical skill down to the reign of James V, when political and religious dissensions abruptly closed the history of ecclesiastical architecture in the kingdom. No record preserves to us the names of those who designed the ancient parish church of St. Giles, or the elaborate additions that gradually extended it to its later intricate series of aisles, adorned with every variety of detail, unless we except "Jonne Prymros, Jonne of Scone, and Jonne Skuyer," who are named as the "masounys" with whom the contract was made in 1387 for building the five chapels on the south side of the nave; but the correspondence of the tracery in the easternmost of the five chapels, as shown in David Allan's painting, to the windows of the transepts in Trinity College Church, reveals the hand of its master mason, John Halkerstone, in some of the later additions to St. Giles's Church. It would be fortunate for the reckless "restorer" who undertook the remodelling of the ancient builders' work, if he could share in the oblivion that withholds from us their names. Happily, enough of their work remains to present a consecutive history of Scottish ecclesiastical architecture in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Very different, both in its history and architectural features, from the

[1] Maitland, p. 273. [2] *Ibid.* p. 62. [3] *Burgh Register*, vol. vii. p. 177; Maitland, p. 273.

venerable though greatly modernised church of St. Giles, was the beautiful edifice which still stood at the foot of Leith Wynd when these Memorials were first published, retaining externally much the same appearance as it assumed nearly four hundred years before, at the behest of the widowed queen

Trinity College Church—the Choir.

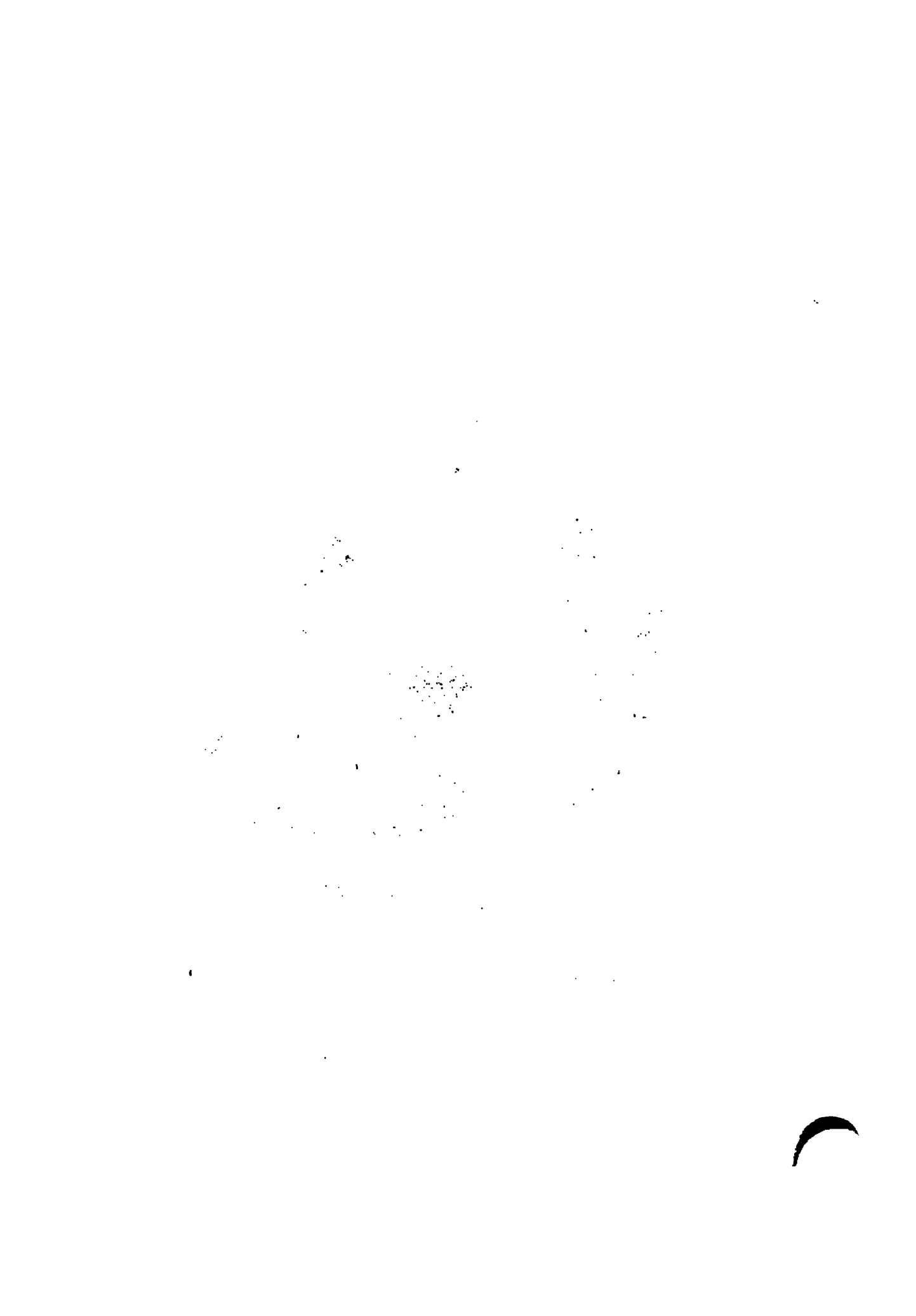
of James II, whose ashes reposed beneath its floor. The Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity was founded in 1462 by the Queen Dowager, Mary of Gueldres, for a provost, eight prebendaries, and two singing boys; in addition to which there was attached to the foundation an hospital for thirteen poor bedemen, who were bound to pray for the soul of the foundress, her royal consort, and all their kin. In the new statutes, it is ordered that "the saidis

Beidmen sall prepair and mak ilk ane of yame on yair awin expensis, ane Blew-gown, *conform to the first Foundation*"; so that their dress from the first was that of the modern pensioners of royalty. The Queen Dowager died on the 16th November 1463, and was buried "in the Queen's College besyde Edinburgh, quhilk sho herself foundit, biggit, and dotit."[1] No monument remained to mark the place where the foundress was laid; and on the demolition of the church numerous interments were found to have been made in its aisles. A round-headed doorway of fine proportions, surmounted by an enriched hood mould, gave entrance from the north aisle to what there can be little doubt was the Lady Chapel. A beautiful canopied piscina, with the remains of a credence table, occupied the north wall immediately adjoining the site of the altar under the east window. Externally, on the buttress at the north-east angle, a fine canopied niche, destined, we may presume, for the statue of the Virgin Mother, was surmounted with the arms of the foundress; and a hagioscope, obliquely opening into the north aisle, was so constructed as to admit of a view of the high altar from the centre of the chapel. The foundation charter provides for the celebration of a weekly mass at the altar of the Blessed Virgin; and further prescribes certain services at the tomb of the foundress whenever any prebendary said mass at the high altar. The arrangement of the hagioscope seemed to be designed with a view to this special service; and the whole decorations, externally and internally, indicated the exceptional importance of this antechapel. All indications, accordingly, seemed to point to this as the chantry chapel of the foundress; and the idea was confirmed by the discovery in the centre of the floor, directly in front of the site of the altar, of an antique oak coffin containing a female skeleton, corresponding in apparent age to that of the Queen at the date of her death. The remains were accordingly transferred to the royal vault at Holyrood, where they now repose.

The proposal for the erection of this, the first collegiate church at Edinburgh, appears to have originated with James II, but little more than the preliminary steps had been taken when his death occurred, on the 3d of August 1460, at the siege of Roxburgh Castle. The death of the Queen, which followed only three years thereafter, though it did not entirely put a stop to the work then very partially advanced, prevented the completion of the church according to the original design under her own directions; and the untimely fate of her son, James III, in 1488, finally arrested its progress; and so left it in that maimed incompleteness which made it more readily fall a prey to the prosaic demands of a utilitarian age. As it stood it consisted of the choir and transepts, with the central tower partially built, and evidently hastily roofed in. But even thus incomplete, it was a beautiful specimen of the decorated English style of architecture, with the

[1] Lesley's *Hist.* p. 36.

GREY FRIAR'S CHURCH.

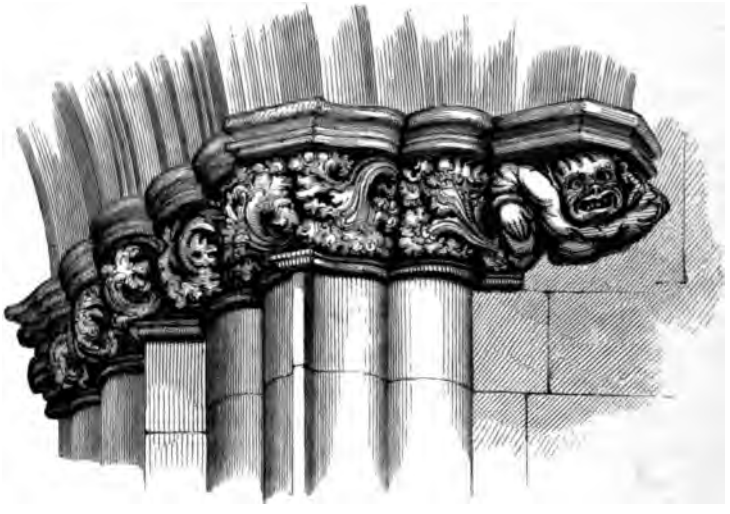


elaborately detailed bosses of its fine groined roof, the corbels, and capitals of the piers, enriched with foliage and other carved work unsurpassed in execution by that of any English cathedral. The choir terminated in an apse of three sides, pierced with lofty pointed windows. They had been

Trinity College Church—South Transept.

originally filled, it may be presumed, with fine painted glass; as they undoubtedly were with tracery; but in these, as elsewhere, the traces of reforming violence were manifest: and only the broken ends of mullions and transoms helped the fancy to restore their perfected lights. The entire ceiling of the aisles and transepts was richly groined; but the most beautiful feature of all was the interior of the apse, which, with its tall, narrow windows,

clustering vaulting-shafts and ribs, gave an idea of loftiness greatly surpassing its actual height. The elaborate groining of the centre aisle converged, with the ribs that rose from the richly capped vaulting-shafts in the angles of the apse, meeting in one large pendent boss; and the whole vaulted roof, with its shafts springing from corbels, and terminating in capitals sharp as when fresh from the sculptor's chisel, presented an aspect of rare architectural beauty. Nor was this effect in any degree diminished by the intermingling, with its exquisitely carved foliage and heraldic devices, of grotesque designs and purposed caricatures. The corbels, which blended harmoniously with the general design, when minutely studied were seen to



Capital of Central Pier, Trinity College Church.

be sculptured into all manner of quaint devices of imps, grinning masks, satyrs, and caricatures of monks and friars. One of the main pillars for the central tower had for its capital a monk in the process of being strangled by two apes; and a corbel of one of the vaulting shafts of the apse, projecting nearly over the site of the high altar, exhibited the mirthful visage of a jovial friar, as if in purposed mockery of the rites on which it seemed to look down. Elsewhere the varied corbels exhibited here and there an angel or other device of beautiful form; but more frequently they consisted of such crouching monsters, labouring under the burden they sustained, as seemed to realise Dante's *Purgatory of Pride*, where the unpurged souls dree their doom of penance under a crushing load of stone; and are compared by the poet to such sculptured fancies, already familiar to him in the Italian architecture of the thirteenth century. Yet above those unseemly forms

rose the shafts and ribbed groins of a vaulted roof hardly to be surpassed in chaste design or elaborate beauty of detail.

Externally the church presented abundant evidence of the abrupt arrestment of the work, owing to the death of the foundress; so that the effect of the original design could be very imperfectly realised from the incomplete and mutilated edifice. But the plan had been so far carried out as to furnish abundant help to the imagination in supplementing it with a nave and ornate west front, a central tower completed in harmony with the beautiful exterior of the apse, and with the original tracery of the windows restored. Externally it had suffered from time and violence. Armorial bearings adorned it at various points, and especially at the east end of the choir. But they had been executed in a friable stone, so that many of them were greatly defaced. But one, which, from its sheltered position on the side of a buttress at the west angle of the south transept, had been slightly affected by exposure, bore the arms of Alexander, Duke of Albany, the younger brother of James II, who at the time of the death of the foundress was residing at the court of the Duke of Gueldres.

Other details of the exterior were not only grotesque, but in some cases illustrated by their grossness the corruption which already affected the whole Church in that fifteenth century. The ape was introduced in the gargoyles, along with other figures, in positions and actions sufficiently inappropriate as the decorations of an ecclesiastical edifice; but on that very account replete with historical value in their illustrations of the taste and religious influences of the century that before its close witnessed the grand revolt of the laity against the Church which tolerated a license of which these were the fitting symbols. The chantry chapel also exhibited externally a rare specimen of the Gothic chimney, an object of some interest to the architect from the few examples of architecture of this date which have escaped the general destruction of the religious houses in Scotland.

A fine round-headed doorway, with the rich mouldings in the jambs carried round the head of the arch, within a deeply-recessed, groined porch constructed between the angle of the south transept and the adjacent buttress, gave access to the choir; and, in its incompleted state, formed the principal entrance to the church. The collegiate buildings, erected according to the plan of the foundress, were built immediately to the south of the church, while the hospital for the bedemen stood on the opposite side of Leith Wynd; but the prebendaries' houses were destroyed in 1558 by the Earl of Argyle and his band of reforming iconoclasts, when the monasteries of the Black and Grey Friars suffered the same fate. Nine years later the church, and such of the collegiate buildings as remained, were presented by the Regent Murray to Sir Simon Preston, Provost of Edinburgh, by whom they were bestowed on the town. New statutes were

immediately drawn up for regulating "the beidmen and hospitularis now present and to cum";[1] and the hospital being found in a ruinous condition, part of the collegiate buildings were fitted up and converted into a lodging for the bedemen, which thenceforth bore the name of Trinity Hospital. This venerable edifice was swept away in 1845 in clearing the site for the railway station, and its demolition brought to light many curious evidences of its earlier state. A beautiful large Gothic fireplace, with clustered columns and a low pointed arch, was disclosed in the north gable, while many rich fragments of Gothic ornament were found built into the walls,—the remains, no doubt, of the original hospital buildings used in the enlargement and repair of the college. In the bird's-eye view in Gordon's map, an elegant Gothic louvre appears on the roof above the great hall, but this had disappeared long before the demolition of the building. In enlarging the drain from the area of the North Loch, in 1822, an ancient causeway was discovered fully four feet below the level of the church floor, and extending a considerable way up the North Back of the Canongate. Its great antiquity was proved on the more recent demolition of the hospital buildings, by the discovery that their foundations rested on part of the same causeway thus buried beneath the slow accumulations of centuries. It may possibly have been a relic of the Roman invasion. One of the grotesque gargoyles of the Trinity Hospital is now preserved in the Antiquarian Museum. In the view of Trinity College Church drawn by Paul Sandby for Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*, a building is shown attached to the west end of it, which appears to have been a separate hospital maintained by the town, after the magistrates had obtained the exclusive control of the Queen's charitable foundation. In the will of Katherine Norwell, the widow of the celebrated printer, Thomas Bassendyne, dated 8th August 1593, she leaves "to ewerie ane of the pure folkis in the Hospitall of the Trinitie College, and of the Toun College of the west end of the College Kirk, iijs. iiijd."[2]

The beautiful ancient church, alike the work and the tomb of its royal foundress, with the charitable foundation which still perpetuated her charity, and sheltered the poor bedesmen who inherited her bequest, after standing for nearly four centuries, an historical monument associated with names and events memorable in Scottish history, was demolished in 1848, notwithstanding the strongest remonstrances against so irreverent and sacrilegious an act; and the whole area is now included in the station of the North British Railway, without even a stone to mark the ancient sacred site consecrated as the chantry of a Scottish Queen.[3]

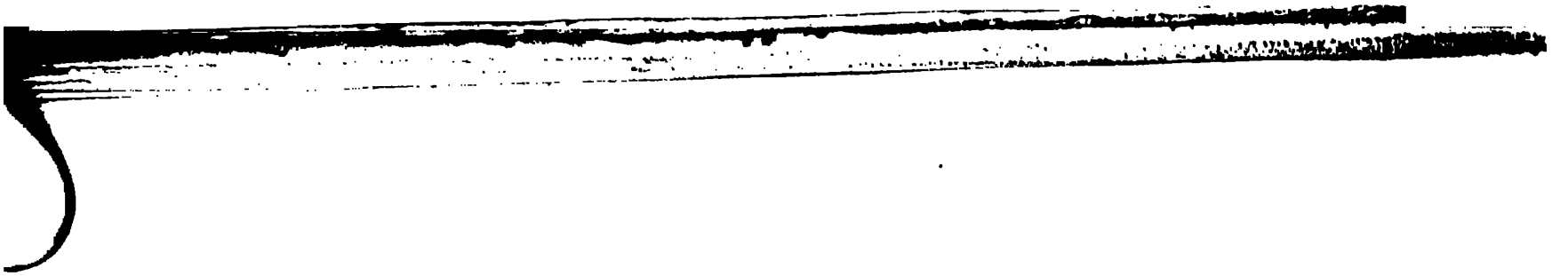
[1] Maitland, pp. 211, 480.

[2] Bannatyne *Misc.* vol. ii. p. 221.

[3] For a minute account of Trinity Church, with numerous illustrations of its decorations from the author's sketches, *vide* "St. Ninian's suburb and the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity," *Proceedings* S.A.Scot., New Series, vol. vi. p. 128.

TRINITY HOSPITAL.

WOMAN'S WARD. TAKEN DOWN 1845.



By a curious coincidence, at the very time when Scottish antiquaries and historical students were mourning the destruction of this architectural memorial of the fifteenth century, the transference of a painting, long recognised as containing portraits of King James III and his Queen, from Hampton Court to the Palace of Holyrood, led to the identification of it, by the learned research and discernment of Mr. David Laing, as the original

Trinity Hospital, demolished 1847.

altar-piece of the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity, and the only example of a Scottish pre-Reformation altar-piece known to exist. It is a diptych, painted on both sides of its two leaves, and thus consisting of four compartments; of which the two exterior ones present, the one King James III, with his successor, a youth of about twelve years of age, behind him, kneeling in front of Saint Andrew; and the other the Queen, Margaret of Denmark, with a figure in armour, possibly St. Olave, holding over her a crusader's banner, inscribed AVE MARIE. The two interior and more

important compartments represent, the one the Trinity, as the suitable altar-piece for the church; and the other the beatified foundress, as it is assumed, in the character of St. Cecilia playing on an organ. Behind the organ an angel possibly represents her daughter; and beside the organ, Sir Edward Bonkil, first provost of the church, and confessor of the Queen, with his arms blazoned on the organ stool, determines the identification of the ancient altar-piece beyond cavil. It is a painting of the school of Van Eyck, possibly by a native artist. Alike in drawing and execution its merits are great; and Pinkerton has justly said of it: "Hardly can any kingdom in Europe boast of a more noble family picture of this early epoch."[1]

One other collegiate church enclosed within the latest extension of the walls of the ancient capital, was known as that of St. Mary-in-the-Fields, or more commonly the Kirk-of-Field. It was originally a dependency of Holyrood Abbey, and does not appear to have been erected into a collegiate church before the beginning of the sixteenth century. When first built, it occupied a commanding site outside the city walls, and retained in its various designations to the last a memorial of its extra-mural position. It was enclosed by the Flodden wall; but this failed to protect it from violence. It was committed to the flames in 1528, plundered and sacked by the Duke of Somerset in 1547, and reduced to final ruin by the reforming iconoclasts of 1558. We have already referred to it in connection with one of the most extraordinary deeds of violence that history records: the murder of Darnley, the husband of Queen Mary, perpetrated by Bothwell and his accomplices on the night of the 9th of February 1567, when the provost's house, in which he lodged, was blown into the air with gunpowder.[2] When young Roland Græme, the hero of *The Abbot*, draws near the Scottish capital, under the guidance of the bluff falconer, Adam Woodcock, he is represented exclaiming on a sudden: "Blessed Lady, what goodly house is that which is lying all in ruins so close to the city? Have they been playing at the Abbot of Unreason here, and ended the gambol by burning the church?" The ruins that excited young Græme's astonishment were none other than those of the Kirk-of-Field, which stood on the site of the present University buildings. It appears in the view of 1544 as a large cross church with a lofty central tower; and the general accuracy of this representation is confirmed by the correspondence of the tower to another view of it taken immediately after the murder of Darnley, when the church was in ruins. The latter drawing, evidently made in order to convey an accurate idea of the scene of the murder to the English Court, is preserved in the State Paper Office. The facsimile of it given in the *Registrum Domus de Soltre*, has already been referred to. The history of the Collegiate Church of St.

[1] *Proceedings* S.A.Scot., vol. iii. p. 8.

[2] *Ante*, vol. i. p. 101.

Mary-in-the-Fields presents scarcely any other feature of interest than that which attaches to it as the scene of so strange and memorable a tragedy. Its vicinity to the town secured for it liberal benefactors, when the citizens' dwellings began to extend beyond the ancient mural limits. Among its most liberal donors was David Voegt, one of the prebendaries, and for some time master of the Grammar School of Edinburgh; and all the augmentations of the original foundation mentioned in the *Inventar of Pious Donations* belong to the sixteenth century. It was governed by a provost, who, with eight prebendaries and two choristers, composed the college, with the addition of an hospital for poor bedemen. Bishop Lesley records in 1558 that "the Erle of Argyle and all his cumpanie entered in the toune of Edinburgh without anye resistance, quhair thay war weill receaved; and suddantlie the Black and Gray Freris places war spulyeit and cassin doune, the haill growing treis plucked up be the ruittis; the Trinitie College and all the prebindaris houses thairof lykewise cassin doun; the altaris and images within Sanct Gelis Kirke and the Kirk of Field destroyed and brint."[1] It seems probable, however, that the Collegiate Church of St. Mary-in-the-Fields was already shorn of its costliest spoils before the reformers of the Congregation visited it in 1558. In the "Inventory of the Townis purchase from the Marquis of Hamilton in 1613," with a view to the founding of the college, is an abstract of "a feu charter granted by Mr. Alexander Forrest, provost of the Collegiate Church of the blessed Mary-in-the-Fields near Edin^{r}, and by the prebends of the said church," bearing date 1554, wherein, among other reasons specified, it is stated: "Considering that ther houses, especialy ther hospital annexed and incorporated with ther college, were burnt doun and destroyed by their auld enemies of England, so that nothing of their said hospital was left, but they are altogether waste and entirely destroyed; wherethrough the divine worship is not a little decreaced in the college, because they were unable to rebuild the said hospital; . . . Therefore they gave, granted, set in feu farme, and confirmed to a magnificent and illustrious Prince, James Duke of Chattelarault, Earl of Arran, Lord Hamilton, etc., all and hail their tenement or hospital, with the yards and pertinents thereof; lying within the burgh of Edinburgh in the street or wynd called School-House Wynd, on the east part thereof." The Duke of Chatelherault appears, from frequent allusions by contemporary annalists, to have built a mansion for his own use on the site of the Hospital of St. Mary's Collegiate Church, which afterwards served as the first hall of the new college. The Town Council proceeded leisurely, yet with hearty zeal, in the extension of the college; and frequent notices in the Council Records prove the progress of the buildings. On the 25th June 1656 the following entry occurs: "For the better carieing on of the buildinges in the colledge, there is a necessetie to break down and demolishe

[1] Lesley, p. 275.

the hous neirest to the Patterraw Port, quich now the *Court du Guaird* possesseth; thairfoir ordaines the thesaurer, with John Milne, to visite the place, and to doe therein what they find expedient, as weill for demolishing the said hous, as for provyding the Court du Guaird uterwayis." Private citizens largely promoted the same laudable object, not only by pecuniary contributions, but by building halls and suites of chambers at their own cost. No regular plan, however, was adopted; and the old college buildings at the time of their demolition presented a rude assemblage of edifices of various dates with very little pretension to ornament.

Beyond the walls of the capital the ancient church of Restalrig existed from a remote date. The original church can be traced back to the twelfth century. At some subsequent, but undetermined date, it became the parish church of Leith; and, as appears by a bull of Pope Calixtus III, dated at Rome in November 1457, the later edifice, of which the choir and some other portions still remain, was in process of building, at the personal cost of King James III, when it was erected into a collegiate church for a dean and canons. The college was subsequently greatly enlarged by James IV and V, and received numerous contributions from private benefactors. It must have been a large church, with collegiate buildings of considerable extent attached to it, if we may judge from the uses to which its materials were applied.[1] The village also appears to have been a place of much greater size and importance than we can form any conception of from its present remains. It was no doubt in early times the chief town of the barony and of much greater extent than the Port of Leith. During the siege of the latter in 1559-60, Bishop Lesley informs us that "the Lord Gray, lieutennent of the Inglis army ludged in Lestalrig toun, in the Deanis hous, and mony of all thair hors and demi-lances."[2] The choir, which is the only part that has escaped demolition, is a comparatively plain specimen of decorated English Gothic. It remained in a ruinous state until a few years since, when it was restored and fitted up with some degree of taste as a chapel of ease for the neighbouring district. The more ancient church, which existed here at a very early period, was celebrated for the tomb of Saint Triduana, a noble virgin who is said to have come from Achaia in the fourth century, in company with St. Rule, and to have died at Restalrig in the year 510. Her tomb was the resort of numerous pilgrims, and the scene, as was believed, of many miracles.[3] King James IV was a liberal benefactor, endowing a

[1] *Ante*, vol. i. p. 109.

[2] Lesley, p. 284.

[3] The miracles ascribed to St. Triduana were chiefly wrought on diseased eyes; and she is accordingly frequently painted carrying her eyes on a salver or on the point of a sword. Lindsay speaks of pilgrims going "to St. Tredwell to mend their ene"; and again, in his curious inventory of saints in *The Monarchie*:—

"Sanct Tredwall, als, thare may be sene,
Quhilk on ane prick hes baith her ene."

chaplainry, and bestowing the parsonage of Bute, with all its revenues, for the maintenance of six prebends. By a charter of the same reign, dated a few months before the battle of Flodden, the Abbots of Holyrood and Newbottle are empowered to erect into a new prebend the chapelry of St. Triduan's aisle, founded in the Collegiate Church of Restalrig by James, Bishop of Ross. The existence both of the church and parish at the death of Alexander III is proved by various charters. In 1291 Adam of St. Edmunds, parson of Lestalric, obtained a writ to the Sheriff of Edinburgh to put him in possession of his lands and rights; and the same ecclesiastic swore fealty to Edward in 1296.[1] The portion of the choir now remaining is much plainer than might be expected in a church enriched by the contributions of three successive monarchs, and the resort of so many devout pilgrims as to excite the special indignation of one of the earliest Assemblies of the Kirk as a monument of idolatry. But a very imperfect idea can now be formed of its original condition. The wall on the north side shows that other buildings extended beyond the aisle which still stands. One of those remaining on the south side, but detached from the church, is probably the crypt of "the Upper Chapel of the Parish Church of the Blessed Virgin of Lestalrig," in which King James III endowed a chaplainry, by a charter dated 3d November 1477, and appointed as chaplain his beloved orator and chaplain, Patrick Hog. The upper chapel was destroyed along with the collegiate buildings and the nave and transepts of the church in 1560; but the beautiful hexagonal crypt of the chapel remains entire. It is constructed internally with a groined roof springing from a single pillar in the centre; and is adorned externally with some venerable yews that have taken root in the soil accumulated on its roof. This ancient mausoleum is believed to have been erected by Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig, knight, who died in 1439, and has evidently been constructed on the same model as St. Margaret's Well, which stood for centuries in its neighbourhood. It afterwards became the property of the Lords Balmerinoch, and on their forfeiture in 1746 it passed to the Earls of Bute, whose property it now remains. In the year 1560 the Assembly, by a decree dated 21st December, "finds that the ministrie of the word and sacraments of God, and assemblie of the peiple of the whole parochin of Restalrig, be within the Kirk of Leith; and that the Kirk of Restalrig, as a monument of idolatrie, be raysit and utterly castin doun and destroyed;"[2] and eleven years thereafter we find its materials taken to build a new port at the Nether Bow.

Not far from the ancient Collegiate Church of Restalrig, on the old road to Holyrood Abbey, stood the beautiful Gothic well dedicated to St. Margaret, and for centuries an object of attraction, alike by the virtues ascribed to its healing waters and the fine architectural features of its masonry. From its

[1] *Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 785.

[2] *The Booke of the Universal Kirk*, p. 5.

special virtues in the healing of diseased eyes, and even restoring sight to the blind, it was probably originally dedicated to St. Triduana, who lies buried not far from its old site. Not many years since a quiet cross-road, the lovers' loan of the rustic villagers of Restalrig, wound its way between green hedgerows from Abbeyhill to the village church; and here, under the shade of a fine old elder-tree, with its knotted and furrowed branches spreading a luxurious shade over the grass-grown top, stood St. Margaret's Well, with a rustic little thatched cottage in front of it. It was one of the most charming nooks to which antiquarian pilgrim ever directed his steps. But its site is now occupied by St. Margaret's Station and the workshops of the North British Railway; and the fountain, buried under piles of earth in a rudely-constructed drain, was left to trickle through a miry slough to the light of day. The railway directors had only been arrested by an interdict in the process of totally demolishing the ancient Gothic cell of the sainted fountain. But its condition was one that could only give pain to every lover of antiquity, when happily the exertions of a few of those best calculated to appreciate the worth of such historical memorials, and foremost among them Dr. David Laing, secured the transfer of the beautiful old piece of architecture to the vicinity of Holyrood. The actual fountain, once vital with the special virtues of St. Triduana's gift of healing, and even in our own day the resort of pilgrims who manifested undiminished faith in its healing powers,[1] could not be transferred with its architectural shrine. But Dr. Laing, in communicating to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1859 the matured plans for the removal of the well, adds: "It may serve to lessen any regret that might be felt at such a removal to learn that the water which supplied the well so copiously in its original state has for several months disappeared and found for itself another channel." The saints had indeed abandoned their desecrated fountain. But now rebuilt at the base of Arthur's Seat, in the royal park, another sainted spring, known as St. David's or the Rood Well, fills the old basin with water as pellucid and as healing as its own. From the centre of the basin a pillar rises, decorated with grotesque masks from which the water flows. Above this springs a cluster of groined ribs, meeting at the top with others springing from corbels in each angle of the hexagonal cell, and finished with sculptured bosses at their intersections. A pointed arch, splayed within and without, gives access to the well, and a stone ledge or seat runs round the five enclosed sides. Its new and more open site invites the addition of some exterior structure worthy of the beautiful Gothic *cella*, but all that is most interesting has been happily rescued from the inexorable utilitarianism of the modern railway vandals.

[1] "Some of you may perhaps be able to recall a memorable instance of the healing virtues of its waters within these few years." Vide *Lectures on the Religious Antiquities of Edinburgh*, by a Member of the Holy Guild of St. Joseph, 1847.

Most of the smaller convents and chapels within the capital have already been treated of along with other features of their ancient localities. One, however, still remains to be noticed, not the least value of which is, that it still exists entire, and with some unusually rare relics of its original decorations. In early times there existed in the Cowgate, a little to the east of the old monastery of the Greyfriars, a *Maison Dieu*, as it was styled, which, having fallen into decay, was refounded in the reign of James V by the contributions of Michael Macquhen, a wealthy citizen of Edinburgh, and afterwards by his widow, Janet Rynd. The hospital and chapel were dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, and by the will of the foundress were left in trust to the Corporation of Hammermen, by whom the latter was appropriated as a hall for their own meetings. The foundation was augmented by two several donations from Hugh, Lord Somerville, in 1541; and though the buildings doubtless shared in the general ruin that swept over the capital in 1544, they must have been very speedily repaired, as the windows are still adorned with the painted glass containing the royal arms of Scotland encircled within a wreath of thistles, and those of the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, within a laurel wreath, along with the shields of the founder and foundress, also enclosed in ornamental borders. One other fragment, a Saint Bartholomew, strangely escaped the general massacre of 1559, that involved the destruction of all the other apostles. The workmanship of the latter is decidedly inferior to that of the heraldic emblazonry. Its hues have evidently faded; while the deep ruby and bright yellow of the royal arms still exhibit the brilliancy of the old glass-painters' work. These fragments of ancient painted glass possess a peculiar value, as scarcely another specimen of the art in Scotland has escaped the destructive fury of the reforming mobs. Another unusual, though not equally rare feature, is the tomb of the foundress, which remains at the east end of the chapel, with the arms of the founders, husband and wife, impaled on one shield, and this inscription round its border:—

> Heir lyis ane honorabil woman, Janet Rynd, ye
> Spous of umquhil Micel Makquhen, burges
> of Ed. founder of yis place, and decessit ye
> iiij day of Decemr. Ao. dno. mo. do. . . .[1]

The sculptured slab is now level with a platform which occupies the east end of the chapel, constructed for the accommodation of the officials of the

[1] The date assigned by Pennecuick for the death of the foundress is 1553; but this seems to be a mistake. She speaks in the charter of her husband having resolved on this Christian work when "greatly troubled with a heavy disease, and *oppressed with age*," and as his endowment is dated 1503, this would make his widow survive him exactly half a century. The date on the tomb is difficult to decipher, being much worn. *Vide* "Notice of Stained Glass and Monumental Slab in St. Magdalen's Chapel," by Geo. Seton, M.A., F.S.A.Scot., *Proceedings* S.A.Scot., New Series, vol. ix. p. 273.

Corporation of Hammermen; but it is probably an altar-tomb, the sides of which may also be decorated with sculpture, though so long hidden by the Corporation *dais*. The date of the foundation of the hospital is 1503, but the charter by which its augmentation and permanent establishment was secured by the widow of its founder is said to be dated so late as 1545, the year succeeding the total destruction of the town. It is at any rate a document of that age, and is not only curious as one of the latest deeds executed for such a purpose, but is characterised by a degree of *naïveté* as rare in legal documents of the sixteenth century as now. It runs thus: "To all and sundry, to whois knowledge thir presents sall come, and be seen, I Jonet Ryne, relict, executrix, and only intromissatrix, with the guds and gear of umquhil Michael Macquhan, burges of Edinburgh, wishing peace in our Lord, makes known by thir presents, That when the said Michael was greatly troubled with an heavy disease, and oppressed with age, zit mindful of eternal life, he esteemed it ane gud way to obtain eternal life to erect some Christian work, for ever to remain and endure: He left seven hundred pound, to be employed for the supplement of the edifice of the Magdalen chapell, and to the other edifices, for foundation of the chapel and sustentation of seven poor men, who should continually there put forth their prayers to God Almighty; for there was many others that had promised to mortifye some portion of their goods for perfeiting and absolveing of the said wark, but they failzied, and withdrew from such an holly and religious work, and altogether refused thereupon to confer the samen. Quhilk thing I taking heavily, and pondering it in my heart, what in such an dificle business sould be done; at last, I thought night and day upon the fulfilling of my husband's will, and took upon me the burden of the haill wark, and added two thousand pound to the £700 left be my husband: And I did put furth these soumes wholly, after his death, upon the edification of that chapel, ornaments thereof, and building of the edifice for the habitation of the chaplane, and seven poor men, and for buying of land, as well field-land, as burgh-land, and yearly annualrents, for the nourishment, sustentation, and clothing of them, as hereafter mair largely set down. *Therefore, wit ye me*, To the praise and honour of Almighty God, and of his mother the Blissed Virgin Mary, and of Mary Magdallen, and of the haill celestial court, to have erected and edified ane certain chapell and hospital-house, lyeing in the burgh of Edinburgh, upon the south side of the King's high street, called the Cowgate, for habitation of the foresaid chaplain and poor, and that from the foundation thereof; and has dedicate the samen to the name of Mary Magdallen, and has foundit the said chaplain, and seven poor, for to give forth their continual prayers unto God, for the salvation of the soul of our most illustrious Mary Queen of Scots, and for the salvation of my said umquhil husband's soul and mine: And also, for the salvation of the souls of our fathers and mothers, and for

all the souls of those that shall put to their helping hand, or sall give any thing to this work: As also, for the patrons of the said chapel: And also, for the souls of all those of whom we have had any thing whilk we have not restored, and for the whilk we have not given satisfaction; to have given and granted, and by this my present charter in poor and perpetual alms, and to have confirmed in mortification: As also, to give and grant, and by this present charter, gives in poor alms and mortification, to confirm to Almighty God, with the Blessed Virgin Mary, the said chapell and chapell-house, for the sustentation of ane secular chaplain, and seven poor men, and for the chaplain, and four poor brethren, to have their yearly food, and perpetual sustentation within the said hospital; and for buying of their habits every twa year once, I mortify these annualrents under-written," etc.[1] After minute directions for the appointment of the chaplain and the management of the hospital, it is provided: "And farder, the said chaplane, every year, once in the year, for the said Michael and Jonet, sall make suffrages, which is, 'I am pleased,' and 'direct me, O Lord'; with ane Mess of rest, 'being naked, he clothed me'; with two wax candles burning on the altar. To the whilk suffrages and mess, he shall cause ring the chapel bell the space of ane quarter of an hour, and that all the foresaid poor, and others that shall be thereintill, shall be present at the foresaid mess with their habites, requesting all these that shall come in to hear the said mess to pray for the said souls. And farder, every day of the blessed Mary Magdallen, patron of the foresaid hospital, and the day of the indulgence of the said hospital, and every other day of the year, the said chaplaine shall offer up all the oblations, and for every oblation shall have twa wax candles upon the altar, and twa at the foot of the image of the patron in twa brazen candlesticks, and twa wax torches on the feast of the nativity of our Saviour, Pasch, and Whitsunday, of the days of Mary Magdallen, and of the days of the indulgences granted to the said hospital, and doubleing at other great feasts, with twa wax candles alenerly." Such were the provisions for the due observance of all the formulary of the services of the Church, which the chaplain on his induction was bound "to give his great oath, by touching the sacred Evangile," that he would neither infringe nor suffer to be altered. It is probable that the chapel was hardly built ere the scheme of its founders was totally overthrown. Certain evidence at least tends to show, that neither the steeple nor its fine-toned bell ever fulfilled the will of the foundress, by summoning the bedemen and all who chose to muster at the call to pray for the repose of the founders' souls. The chapel is adorned at its east end with the royal arms, the city arms, and the armorial bearing of twenty-two corporations, who constitute the ancient body known as the United Incorporation of Hammermen, the guardians of the sacred banner, the Blue Blanket, on the

[1] *History of the Blue Blanket*, etc., by Alexander Pennecuick, pp. 46-48.

unfurling of which every liege burgher of the kingdom is bound to answer the summons. The north and east walls of the chapel are almost entirely occupied with tablets recording the gifts of numerous benefactors. The earliest of these is probably a daughter of the founder, "Isobel Macquhane, spous to Gilb[t] Lauder, merchant burgess of Edin[r], who bigged ye crose house, and mortified £50 yearly out of the Cousland, anno 1555." Another records, that "John Spens, burgess of Edinburgh, bestowed 100 lods of Wesland lime for building the stipel of this chapell, anno 1621." Here, therefore, is the date of erection of the steeple, which receives corroboration from its general features, including the old-fashioned gargoyles in the form of ornamental cannons, each with a bullet ready to issue from its mouth. The furnishing of the steeple with "The Chapel Bell" appears to have been the subject of still further delay, as the bell bears this legend around it, in Roman characters: SOLI DEO GLORIA · MICHAEL BURGERHUYS ME FECIT, ANNO 1632; and in smaller characters, GOD BLIS THE HAMMERMEN OF MAGDALENE CHAPEL. The bell is still rung according to the will of the foundress, however different be the responses in answer to its warning note; and it was further applied, soon after its erection, to summon the inhabitants of the neighbouring district to the parish church, as appears from the Corporation records: "16 June, 1641, the Grayfriars Kirk-Session applied to the Corporation, in order to have the Magdalane Chapple bell rung on their account, for which they agreed to pay £40 Scots yearly, which was agreed to during pleasure." [1]

This ancient chapel claims our interest as the arena of proceedings strangely different from those contemplated by its founders. In 1560 John Craig, a Scottish Dominican monk, returned to his native country after an absence of twenty-four years, during which he had experienced a succession of as remarkable vicissitudes as are recorded of any individual in that eventful age. He had resided for a time as chaplain in the family of Lord Dacre, an English nobleman, and was afterwards appointed to an honourable office in the Dominican monastery at Bologna, through the recommendation of the celebrated Cardinal Pole. The discovery of a copy of Calvin's *Institutes* in the convent library led to an entire change in his religious opinions, in consequence of which he was compelled to fly; but being at length discovered, he was arrested, and suffered prolonged imprisonment in the dungeons of the Roman Inquisition. From this he was delivered by a tumultuous uprising of the Roman populace, on the death of Pope Paul IV. The buildings of the Inquisition were pillaged, its dungeons broken open, and Craig was freed the very day before that fixed for an Auto-da-fé, in which he was doomed to suffer at the stake. He escaped, amid many strange adventures, first to Bologna, and then to Vienna, where he was appointed

[1] *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. p. 177.

chaplain to the Emperor Maximilian II. After a time, however, the Inquisition traced him out, and demanded his being delivered up to suffer the judgment already decreed. This it was that compelled his return to Scotland, at the very time when his countrymen were effecting a revolution in conformity with his new opinions. He found, however, on revisiting his country after so long an absence, that he had almost entirely forgot his native tongue, and he accordingly preached in Latin for a considerable time, in St. Magdalene's Chapel, to such scholars as his learning and abilities attracted to hear him. He afterwards became the colleague and successor of Knox, and as such published the banns of marriage in St. Giles's Church, preparatory to the fatal union of Queen Mary with Bothwell. We learn also from Melville's Diary, that "The Generall Assemblie conveinit at Edinbruche in Apryll 1578, in the Magdalen Chapell. Mr. Andro Melvill was chosin Moderator, whar was concludit, That Bischopes sould be callit be thair awin names, or be the names of *Breither* in all tyme coming, and that lordlie name and authoritie banissed from the Kirk of God, quhilk hes bot a Lord, Chryst Jesus."[1] One other incident concerning the ancient chapel worthy of recording is that in 1661 the body of the Marquis of Argyle was carried thither, and lay in the chapel for some days, until it was removed by his friends to the family sepulchre at Kilmun, while his head was affixed to the north gable of the Tolbooth.

The Abbey of Holyrood, though a far more wealthy and important ecclesiastical establishment than St. Giles's College, or any other of the ancient religious foundations of the Scottish capital, may be much more summarily treated of here. Its foundation charter is still extant among the city archives. In it are recorded the long obsolete privileges of trial by wager of battle, by water, and by red-hot iron, along with the substantial gifts and perquisites of the royal founder. The right of girth, or sanctuary, which survived after all others had been forgotten, is not included among the specified privileges; but it is referred to in a process before the Supreme Courts, in 1569, as having existed at the foundation of the Abbey: "quhilk privilige has bene inviolablie observit to all manner of personis cumand wytin the boundes aforesaid, not committand the crymes expresslie exceptit for all maner of girth; and that in all tymes bigane past memorie of man."[2] Poverty was the last crime to remain unexcepted; and the sanctuary of Holyrood gave shelter to many a poor bankrupt whom wrathful creditors were threatening with the gaol, till the abolition of imprisonment for debt in 1880. Sir Walter Scott notes in his Journal, 1st November 1827, "I suppose that I, the Chronicler of the Canongate, will have to take up my residence in the Sanctuary, unless I prefer the more airy residence of the Calton Jail."

[1] Melville's *Diary*, Wodrow Soc. p. 61.

[2] *Acta Dom. Concilii et Sessionis.*

A curious seal, already referred to, appended by Abbot Alwyn, in 1141, to a charter preserved among the muniments of Newbattle, is shown in the accompanying woodcut. It represents apparently a primitive ecclesiastical structure built after the fashion of earliest Scottish churches, such as may have sufficed for Abbot Alwyn and the brethren of the Holyrood on their first settlement in the valley under the Crag; if it be not the memorial of a still older structure of a *familia*, or Culdee brotherhood established there "in tymes bigane past memorie of man."

Holyrood Seal, A.D. 1141.

The dates of successive enlargements, as well as of the spoliation and burnings of the Abbey, have been carefully noted; and the intelligent research of the editors of its charters has traced to the interested monkish fabulists of a later age the picturesque legend of King David's miraculous rescue, and his acquisition of the Holy Rood, while hunting in the forest that of old skirted Arthur's Seat. The fine Gothic well that for centuries bore his sainted mother's name, when it covered the healing waters of St. Triduana's Fountain at Restalrig, now stands over what later tradition had appropriated as the Rood Well.

The beautiful fragment of the Abbey Church which still remains, forming the nave of the ancient building, retains traces of the original work of the twelfth century, though enriched by the additions of a later age. The earliest drawing of the Abbey and Palace that exists is the bird's-eye view of 1544, where it is marked by its English draughtsman as "the King of Skotts palis," although the sole claimant to the throne at that date was the infant daughter of James V. A comparison of this with the portions still remaining leaves little doubt of its general accuracy. The Abbey Church appears with a second square tower at the west front, uniform with the one still standing to the north of the great doorway. The transepts are about the usual proportions, but the choir is much shorter than it is proved from other evidence to have originally been, the greater part of it having probably been reduced to ruins before the view was taken. During the levelling of the ground around the Palace, and digging a foundation for the substantial railing with which it has been enclosed, the workmen came upon the bases of two pillars, in a direct line with the nave, on the site of the east railings, proving that the ancient choir had been of unusual length. A mound of earth which extends still farther to the east marks the foundations of other early buildings, and from their being in the direct line of the main building,

it is not improbable that a Lady Chapel may have stood to the east of the choir. A curious relic of the ancient tenants of the monastery, found by the workmen already referred to, consisted of a skull, which had no doubt formed the solitary companion of one of the monks. A hole in the top of the cranium served probably for securing a crucifix; and over the brow was traced in antique characters the appropriate maxim, *Memento Mori.* This solitary relic of the furnishings of the Abbey was secured by the late Sir Patrick Walker, and is still in the possession of his family. The English army that "brent the abbey called Holyrode house, and the pallice adjonynge to the same," in 1544, returned within less than three years to complete their destruction, almost immediately after the accession of Edward VI to his father's throne. Their proceedings are thus recorded by the English chronicler: "Thear stode south-westward, about a quarter of a mile from our campe, a monasterie: they call it Hollyroode Abbey. Sir Water Bonham and Edward Chamberlayne gat lycense to suppresse it; whearupon these commissioners, making first theyr visitacion thear, they found the moonks all gone, but the church and mooch parte of the house well covered with leade. Soon after, thei pluct of the leade and had down the bels, which wear but two; and according to the statute, did somewhat hearby disgrace the hous. As touching the moonkes, bicaus they wear gone, thei put them to their pencions at large."[1] It need hardly excite surprise that the invaders should not find matters quite according to the statute, with so brief an interval between such *visitacions.* The state in which they did find the Abbey proves that it had been put in effectual repair immediately after their former visit.

The repeated burnings of the Abbey by the English were doubtless the chief cause of the curtailment of the church to its present diminished size; yet abundant evidence remains to show that the choir and transepts were in existence fully a quarter of a century later; and that had the necessary exertions been then made for its repair, we might still possess the ancient building in its original magnificent proportions, instead of the ruined nave, which alone remains to show what once had been. In "the heads of the accusation and chief offences laid to Adam, Bishop of Orknay, his charge," by the General Assembly of 1569, the fifth is, that "all the said kirks, for the most part, wherein Christs evangell may be preached, are decayed, and made, some sheepfolds, and some so ruinous, that none darre enter into them for fear of falling; specially Halrudhouse, although the bishop of Sanct Andrews, in time of papistry, sequestrate the whole rents of the said abbacy, because only the glassen windows were not holden up and repaired."[2] To this the Bishop replied, "That the Abbay Church of Halyrudhouse hath been, these

[1] Patten's Expedition to Scotland. *Frag. of Scot. Hist.*
[2] *Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, p. 163.

20 years bygane, ruinous through decay of two principall pillars, so that none were assured under it; and two thousand pounds bestowed upon it would not be sufficient to ease men to the hearing of the word, and ministration of the sacraments. But with their consent, and help of ane established authority, he was purposed to provide the means, that the superfluous ruinous parts, to wit, the Queir and Croce Kirk, might be disponed be faithfull men, to repair the remanent sufficiently."[1] The Bishop's economical plan was no doubt put in force, and the whole of the choir and transepts soon after demolished and their materials sold, to provide funds for converting the nave into the Parish Kirk of the Canongate. Of the four pillars designed to support a great central tower, the two western ones now form the sides of the east window constructed within the arch, and an examination of the masonry with which the lower parts of this and the side arches are closed shows that it consists mainly of fragments of clustered shafts and other remains of the ruins. It was at this time, we presume, that the new royal vault was constructed in the south aisle of the nave, and the remains of the Scottish kings removed from their ancient resting-place near the high altar of the Abbey Church. It is built against the ancient Norman doorway of the cloisters, which still remains externally, with its beautiful shafts and zigzag mouldings, an undoubted relic of the original fabric of David I. The cloisters appear to have enclosed a large court, formed in the angle of the nave and south transept. The remains of the north side are still clearly traceable, and the site of the west side is now occupied by the Palace buildings. Here was the ambulatory for the old monks, when the magnificent foundation of David retained its pristine proportions; and the cloisters probably remained till the burning of the Abbey after the death of James V. We learn that on the occasion of the marriage of James IV with the Princess Margaret of England, "after all reverences doon at the Church, in ordere as before, the Kyng transported himself to the Pallais, through the clostre, holdynge always the Queen by the body, and hys hed bare, till he had brought hyr within her chammer."

The west front, as it now remains, is evidently the work of very different periods. It has been curtailed of the south tower to admit of the completion of the quadrangle according to the formal design of Sir William Bruce; and the windows over the great doorway are evidently additions or restorations of the time of Charles I, whose initials are carved below, on the oak beam of the great doorway. Between the windows an ornamental tablet of the same date, and decorated in the style of the period, bears the inscription: —BASILICAM HANC, CAROLVS REX, OPTIMVS INSTAVRAVIT, 1633, with the further addition in English:—HE SHALL BUILD A HOUSE FOR MY NAME, AND I WILL ESTABLISH THE THRONE OF HIS KINGDOM FOR EVER: a motto

[1] *Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, p. 167.

of strange significance, when we consider the events that followed the royal attempt at a re-edification of the Scottish Church; and the ruin that overwhelmed the royal race of the Stuarts. The chief portions of the west front, however, are in the most beautiful style of Early English which succeeded that of the Norman. The details on the west front of the tower in particular, with its elaborately sculptured arcade and boldly cut heads between the arches, and the singularly rich variety of ornament in the great doorway, unite to form a specimen of early ecclesiastical art unsurpassed by any building of similar dimensions in the kingdom. A beautiful doorway on the north side, in a much later style, is evidently the work of Abbot Crawfurd, by whom the buttresses of the north side were rebuilt as they now remain, in the ornate style of the fifteenth century. He succeeded to the abbacy in 1457, and according to his namesake, in the *Lives of Officers of State*, he rebuilt the Abbey Church from the ground. Abundant evidence still exists in the ruins that remain to disprove so sweeping a statement; but the repetition of his arms on various parts of the building proves the extensive repairs and alterations that were effected under his directions. He was succeeded by Abbot Ballantyne, equally celebrated as a builder, who appears to have completed the work which his predecessor had projected. Father Hay records that "he brocht hame the gret bellis, the gret brasin fownt, twintie fowr capis of gold and silk; he maid ane chalice of fine gold, ane eucharist, with sindry chalicis of silver; he theikkit the kirk with leid; he biggit ane brig of Leith, ane othir ouir Clide; with mony othir gude workis, qwilkis ware ouir prolixt to schaw."[1] The brazen font here mentioned was carried off by Sir Richard Lee, captain of the English pioneers in the Earl of Hertford's army, and presented to the Abbey Church of St. Albans, with a gasconading Latin inscription engraved on it, which may be thus rendered: "When Leith, a town of some celebrity in Scotland, and Edinburgh, the chief city of that nation, were on fire, Sir Richard Lee, Knight of the Garter, snatched me from the flames, and brought me to England. In gratitude for such kindness, I who heretofore served only to baptize the children of kings, now offer the same service to the meanest of the English nation. Lee, the conqueror, so wills it. Farewell. A.D. 1543-4. 36 Hen. VIII." This font a second time experienced the fate of war during the commotions of Charles I.'s reign, when the ungrateful *Southron*, heedless of its condescending professions, sold it as a lump of useless metal.[2] Seacome, in his history of the House of Stanley, refers to an old but somewhat confused tradition of

Abbot Crawfurd's Arms.

[1] *Liber Cartarum*, p. xxxii.

[2] Camden's *Britannia*, by Gough, vol. i. p. 338, where the original Latin inscription is given.

an ancestor of the family of Norris of Speke Hall, Lancashire, who commanded a company, as would appear from other sources, at the battle of Pinkie, "in token whereof, he brought from the deceased King of Scots' Palace all or most of his princely library, many books of which are now at Speke, particularly four large folios, said to contain the Records and Laws of Scotland at that time. He also brought from the said Palace the wainscot of the King's Hall, and put it up in his own Hall at Speke, wherein are seen all the orders of architecture, as Tuscan, Dorick, Ionick, Corinthian, and Composite; and round the top of it this inscription, 'SLEEPE . NOT . TILL . YE . HATHE . CONSEDERD . HOW . THOW . HAST . SPENT . YE . DAY . PAST . IF . THOW . HAVE . WELL . DON . THANK . GOD . IF . OTHER . WAYS . REPENT . YE.'"[1] Speke Hall still exists as one of the fine old manor-houses of Lancashire; and, could this tradition be relied on, would form an object of peculiar attraction, as the antique wainscot with its quaint moral still adorns the great hall. It proves, however, to be the work of a later age, corresponding to similar specimens in neighbouring halls erected in the reign of Elizabeth. It might, indeed, be confidently affirmed that the Roman orders were not introduced into Scotland till a considerably later period; but the above description answers very partially to the original. The tradition, however, may not be without some foundation. Two figures of angels, richly gilt, "in form such as are introduced under consoles in Gothic architecture," and evidently no part of the original design, it is conjectured, may have been among the spoils which were carried off from the King of Scots' Palace in 1547.[2]

The Abbey of Holyrood frequently afforded accommodation to the Scottish Court, before the addition of a distinct royal dwelling to the ancient monastic buildings. This, it is probable, was not effected before the reign of James IV. It is certain, at any rate, that large sums were spent by him in building and decorating the Palace during the interval of four years between his betrothment and marriage to Margaret of England. In the map to which we have repeatedly referred, the present north-west tower, which forms the only ancient portion of the Palace now remaining, is shown standing almost apart, and only connected with the south-west tower of the Abbey Church by a low cloister. To the south of this appears an irregular group of buildings, of considerable extent, apparently covered with tiles, while, from the colouring of the drawing, the houses in the Canongate seem to be only thatched. It is not necessary, however, further to review the early history of Holyrood as a royal palace, as most of the remarkable historical incidents associated with it have already been referred to.

The latest writer who has left any account of the old Palace, prior to its

[1] Vide *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. iv., from whence the inscription is correctly given.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 14.

destruction by fire in 1650, is John Taylor, the Water poet, in the amusing narrative of his *Pennylesse Pilgrimage to Scotland in* 1618. The following is his description: "I was at his Majestie's Palace, a stately and Princely seate, wherein I saw a sumptuous Chappell, most richly adorned with all appurtenances belonging to so sacred a place, or so Royall an owner. In the inner court I saw the King's Armes cunningly carved in stone, and fixed over a doore aloft on the wall, the red Lyon being the Crest, over which was written this inscription in Latin: *Nobis hæc invicta miserunt* 106 *Proavi.* I enquired what the English of it was? it was told me as followeth, which I thought worthy to be recorded,—106 *Fore-fathers have left this to us unconquered;*"—an interpretation which leads the Water poet into a series of very loyal reflections on "this worthy and memorable motto!" The visit of Taylor to the Palace and Chapel was almost immediately after that of James VI to Scotland, so that he no doubt saw them in all the splendour which had been provided for the King's reception. The Palace was probably dismantled and abandoned to neglect after the last visit of Charles I. in 1641, otherwise Cromwell might have been expected to have taken up his abode there during his residence in Edinburgh. The improvements, however, effected by Charles, both on the Palace and Abbey Church, appear to have been considerable. One memorial of his residence there is the elaborately carved sun-dial which still adorns the north garden of the Palace, and is usually known as "Queen Mary's Dial," although the cipher of her grandson, and those of his Queen and the Prince of Wales, are repeated on its most prominent carvings. The Palace was converted into barracks by Cromwell, and, as Nicoll relates, "ane number of the Englisches futemen being ludgit within the Abay of Haly Rud Hous, it fell out that upone an Weddinsday, being the threttene day of November, 1650, the haill royall pairt of that palice wes put in flame, and brint to the ground on all the pairtes thairof."[1] The diarist, however, has afterwards qualified this sweeping assertion by adding, "except a lyttel"; and there is no question that the oldest portion of the Palace, usually known as James the Fifth's Tower, escaped the conflagration, as its oaken ceiling and other finishings, though not so old as Queen Mary's time, certainly at least date in the reign of Charles I, some of them being marked with the cipher of that monarch and his Queen, Henrietta Maria. A fac-simile of a rare print, after a drawing by Gordon of Rothiemay, in the first volume of the Bannatyne *Miscellany*, preserves the only reliable view of the Palace as it existed prior to this conflagration. The main entrance appears to occupy nearly the same site as at present. It is flanked on either side by round towers, or rather semicircular bow windows, between which a panel surmounting the grand gateway bears the royal arms of Scotland. A

[1] Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 35.

uniform range of building, pierced with large windows, extends on either side, and is flanked on the north by the great tower which still remains, but finished above the battlements as represented in the vignette on page 46 of vol. i. The empty panels also which still remain in the front turrets appear to have been filled with sculptured armorial bearings. No corresponding tower existed at the south-west corner of the fabric until its remodelling by Sir William Bruce.

The Palace was speedily rebuilt by order of the Protector, but his work came under revision soon after the Restoration. The directions given by

Holyrood Palace.

Charles II for its alteration and completion enter into the minutest details, among which such commands as the following were probably dictated with peculiar satisfaction: "Wee doe hereby order you to cause that parte thereof which was built by the usurper, and doth darken the court, to be taken down."[1] The zeal with which both Charles II and James VII

[1] Royal Warrants. *Liber Cart.* p. cxxix. The royal orders would appear to have been occasionally departed from, *e.g.*—the Earl of Lauderdale writes, by command of Charles II, in 1671: —"His Majtie likes the front very well as it is Designed, provided the gate where the King's coach is to come in be large enough, As also he likes the taking doune of that narrow upper parte which was built in Cromwell's time. Hee likes not the covering of all that betwixt the two great toures with platform at the second storie, but would have it heightened to a third storie, as all the inner court is, and sklaited with skaily as the rest of the court is to be"; in all which respects the original design has evidently been carried out, notwithstanding His Majesty's directions to the contrary.

devoted themselves to the restoration of the ancient palace of their fathers, would almost seem to imply the forethought of securing a fit retreat in the ancient capital of the Stuarts, in case of their being again driven from the English throne. The following inscription, in large Roman characters, on the north-west pier of the piazza, within the quadrangle, marks the site of the foundation-stone of the modern works: FVN · BE · RO · MYLNE · MM · IVL · 1671. In the accompanying view the towers of the east wing completed in the reign of James V occupy the foreground. Beyond the Palace the portion of the sanctuary that stood within the precincts of St. Anne's Yard is seen; and the area in front is vacant, as it continued to be till 1847, when it was appropriated as the site for a statue of Queen Victoria executed in stone by Handyside Ritchie. But it failed to satisfy the critical taste of Prince Albert; and was appropriately replaced by the beautiful Gothic fountain which reproduces a restoration of the ruined fountain in the quadrangle of Linlithgow Palace, the birthplace of Queen Mary.

The chief popular interest which attaches to the Palace of Holyrood arises from its associations with the reign of Mary Stuart, and the romance that clings to the name of her unfortunate descendant Prince Charles; though older historical memories assert their claims, and contribute to the nameless charm that still lingers about the gray ruins of the abbey, and the deserted halls of the Palace of our old kings, which no Scotsman can resist. A noble but doomed race have passed away for ever from those scenes of many a dark tragedy in which they acted or suffered, leaving memories to haunt the place, all the more vividly that no fortunate rival intrudes to break the spell. In the engraving of the interior of the Chapel, a point of view has been chosen which shows the royal vault, the cloister door behind it, the Roxburgh vault, and the monument of Adam, Bishop of Orkney, attached to one of the pillars: a group including some of the most interesting features of the ruined nave. The royal vault was broken into by the revolutionary mob that spoiled the Chapel Royal in 1688; and was again rifled after the fall of the roof in 1768, when those employed to repair it loaded it with a covering of huge flagstones, of a weight altogether disproportioned to the strength of the old walls. On the latter occasion the head of Queen Magdalen (which, when seen by Arnot in 1766, was entire, and even beautiful) and the skull of Darnley were carried off. The latter having come into the possession of Mr. James Cummyng of the Lyon Office, the eccentric secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, his life was rendered miserable thereafter by the persecutions of the shrewish cicerone of the Chapel, who haunted him like the ghost of the murdered Darnley, and lived on his terrors by constant threats of exposure to the Barons of Exchequer. It was subsequently acquired by the Hon.

Archibald Fraser of Lovat, and is now in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, London.[1]

A few old portraits, with sundry relics of noble occupants of the Palace in earlier times, form the only other objects of attraction to the curious visitor. Among the pictures in the Duke of Hamilton's apartments is one of the many questionable portraits of Queen Mary. It claims to be an original, in the dress in which she was executed, though, if the latter statement be true, it goes far to discredit its originality. Another fair lady, dressed as a shepherdess, and described as the work of Vandyke, though probably only a copy, is a portrait of Dorothy, Countess of Sutherland: Waller's *Sacharissa*. Here, too, are the portraits of two celebrated royal favourites, Jane Shore and—as the cicerone of the Palace invariably persists, —Nell Gwynne, though in reality a portrait of her frail rival Moll Davies, and bearing a striking resemblance to her engraved portrait. It corresponds also to the latter in having black hair, whereas that of Nell was fair; but it is not unusual to confer the name of Nell Gwynne on such portraits of frail beauties. Among the representatives of the rougher sex in this miscellaneous assemblage is a very sour-looking divine, dubbed John Knox, and a grave clergyman, probably of the time of Charles I, whose red calotte or skull-cap, we presume, led to his being engraved both by Pennant and Pinkerton as Cardinal Beaton.[2] In the Marquis of Breadalbane's apartments there is a full-length portrait of Lady Isabella Thynne, daughter of the Earl of Holland who perished on the scaffold during the great civil war. The lady is represented with a lute in her hand, for her great skill on which she is celebrated in the poems of Waller. Aubrey relates that her sister, "the beautiful Lady Diana Rich, as she was walking in her father's garden at Kenington, to take the fresh air before dinner, about eleven o'clock, being then very well, met with her own apparition, habit, and every thing, as in a looking-glass." She died about a month thereafter of the smallpox; and her sister, the Lady Isabella, is affirmed to have received a similar warning before her death.[3] Those and other portraits adorn apartments in the Palace; but many of them being the private property of the noble lodgers, can hardly be considered as part of the decorations of Holyrood. One late contribution to its walls is Wilkie's full-length portrait of George IV, in the Highland costume, as he appeared on his visit to the northern capital in 1822; and now the beautiful diptych, already described, which has been

[1] *Vide* "Legend of the Black Turnpike," *Proceedings* S.A.Scot., N. S., vol. xii.

[2] A portrait of Cardinal Beaton at St. Mary's College, Blair, represents him about the age of thirty-five, when he was ambassador at the French Court. The face is oval, the features regular, and the expression somewhat pensive, but very pleasing. He wears moustaches and an imperial. On the background of the picture is the following inscription: Le bienherevx David de Bethvne, Archevesque de St. André, Chancellíere et Regent du royaume d'Ecosse, Cardinal et Legat a latere, fut massacré pour la foy en 1546.

[3] Law's *Memorials*, preface, p. lxvi.

identified as the altar-piece of the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity, forms an object of rare attraction in the long gallery.

A much slighter survey will suffice for other ecclesiastical foundations of the Scottish capital, of which no vestige now remains. Among the latter is the Monastery of Blackfriars of the order of St. Dominic, founded by Alexander II in 1230, and endowed with certain royal burghal revenues, and with the Vennel, thenceforward styled the Blackfriars' Wynd. It occupied part of the same ridge, outside the ancient city walls, on which the Collegiate Church of St. Mary-in-the-Fields was built, and where in later times the old High School stood. It is styled in the foundation charters *Mansio Regis*, and appears to have been a wealthy foundation, subsequently enlarged by gifts from Robert I and James III, as well as by many private donations confirmed by the latter monarch in 1473.[1] The monastery was accidentally destroyed by fire in 1528; but it is probable that the church was only partially injured, as it appears in the view of 1544 as a large cross church, with a central tower and lofty spire. It no doubt experienced its full share in the events of that disastrous year, and the reformers of 1558 completed its destruction.

The Monastery of the Greyfriars in the Grassmarket has already been described, and the venerable cemetery which occupies the site of its gardens frequently referred to. The following distich was inscribed on a panel over the entrance at the foot of the Candlemaker Row—

> "Remember Man, as thou goes by;
> As thou art now, so once was I;
> As I am now, so shalt thou be;
> Remember Man that thou must die."[2]

The gateway opposite the east end of the church is a more recent work, and appears, from the records of Monteith, to have involved the destruction of the monument of a wealthy burgess of note in his day, Alexander Miller, master tailor to James VI, who died in the year 1616. The Old Greyfriars' Church, as it was styled, was destroyed by a fire which broke out on the morning of Sunday, the 19th of January 1845, and presented to the

[1] "Charter of confirmation of all Mortifications maid to the said Brethren Predicators in Edin^{r}, viz. One made be Alexander II, of an a. rent of 10 marks *de firmis burgalibus de Edin^{r}*. One made be George Seaton and Cristain Murray his spous, of 20 marks yearly out of the lands of Hartshead and Clint. One made be Phillipia Moubray, Lady Barnebugle, of 20s. sterling, yearly, out of little Barnbugle. One made be Joan Barcklay of Kippe of 10s. yearly, out of the lands of Duddingstone and husband-lands thereof. One be Jo. Sudgine of 30s. 4d. out of his tenement of Leith, on the south side of the water thereof, between Alen Nepar's land on the East and Rottenrow on the West, 14 May 1473."—*Inventar of Pious Donations*, MS. A "charter of Dalzellis land," found among the title-deeds of the Blackbarony estate by Thomas Thomson, Esq., W.S., dated 31st March 1509, is granted by "Jacobus Thomsoun prior fratrum predicatorum burgi de Edinburgh."

[2] Monteith's *Theatrum Mortalium*, p. 1. The last word is evidently intended to be pronounced in the broad Scottish fashion, *dee*.

astonished parishioners a blazing pile as they assembled for the services of the day. The popular tale of the time was that Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, a well-known Whig baronet, who was a member of the congregation, after berating the beadle for keeping the church so cold, promised him a gratuity of five shillings if it was at a temperature to his liking on the following Sunday. The beadle set to work to earn the promised crown-piece, and when the baronet arrived he found no reason to complain of want of fire. The old church bore on the north-east pillar the date 1613, and on a panel surmounting the east gable that of 1614, underneath the city arms. It was an ungainly edifice, with few historical associations and no architectural beauties to excite regret at its removal from a site admirably adapted for a fine church. It has been restored with little improvement externally, though its internal arrangements have been executed with considerable taste. But the true interest centres in the surrounding cemetery. Its monuments and other memorials of the illustrious dead who repose there attract the visitor no less for their interesting associations than their picturesque beauty; while it is memorable in Scottish history as the scene of the signing of the Covenant by the enthusiastic leaguers of 1638; and the place of captivity, under circumstances of peculiar cruelty, of the insurgent Covenanters taken in arms at Bothwell Brig. Like other great cemeteries it forms the peaceful resting-place of rival statesmen and politicians, and of many strangely diverse in life and fortune. Here mingle the ashes of George Heriot, the father of the royal goldsmith, George Buchanan, Alexander Henderson, Sir George Mackenzie, Sir James Stewart, Principal Carstairs, Sir John de Medina the painter, Allan Ramsay, Colin Maclaurin, Thomas Ruddiman, and many others distinguished in their age for rank or genius.

The Carmelites, or Whitefriars, though introduced into Scotland in the thirteenth century, did not acquire an establishment in Edinburgh till 1518, when the Provost and Bailies conveyed, by charter dated the 13th April, "to Jo. Malcolme, provincial of the Carmelites, and his successors, y^{r} lands of Green-side, with the chapell or kirk of the Holy Cross y^{r}of."[1] From this we learn that a chapel existed there in ancient times, of which no other record has been preserved, and adjoining it was a cross called the Rood of Greenside. The valley of Greenside, under the north-west slope of the Calton Hill, was the scene of martyrdom of David Stratoun and Norman Gourlay, a priest and layman, who were tried at Holyrood House, in the presence of James V; and on the 27th of August 1534 were led "to a place besydis the Roode of Greynsyd, and thair thei two war boyth hanged and brunt, according to the mercy of the Papisticall Kirk."[2] The tradition has already been referred to that assigns the same locality for the burning of Major Weir. On the suppression of the order of Carmelites at the Reforma-

[1] *Inventar of Pious Donations.*

[2] Knox's *Hist.*, Wodrow Soc., vol. i. p. 60.

tion, John Robertson, a benevolent merchant, founded on the site of their convent an hospital for lepers, "pursuant to a vow on his receiving a signal mercy from God." The hospital was placed under the control of the Town Council, who drew up a series of most stringent statutes to secure the good conduct, and above all the perfect isolation, of the wretched inmates. A gallows was erected at the end of the hospital to enforce obedience; and even the opening of the gate between sunset and sunrise was declared punishable with the halter. The grassy vale, within the natural amphitheatre of which some of the earliest exhibitions of the regular drama were witnessed by the Court of the Regent, Mary of Guise; and where the crowds of the neighbouring capital were attracted at one time by the pastimes that accompanied a *Wapinschaw*, and at another by the terrors of judicial vengeance, remained unchanged till the close of last century. Pennant, writing in 1769, remarks: "In my walk this evening I passed by a deep and wide hollow beneath the Caltoun Hill, the place where those imaginary criminals, witches, and sorcerers, in less enlightened times, were burnt, and where at festive seasons the gay and gallant held their tilts and tournaments."[1] Upwards of three centuries have elapsed since the Monastery of the Carmelites of Greenside was suppressed; yet we learned from the late W. B. D. D. Turnbull, not only that the succession of the Priors of Greenside is still perpetuated in the Carmelite Convent at Rome, but he had seen the friar who bore the title of *Il Padre Priore di Greenside.*

Beyond the Monastery of the Carmelites, on the outskirts of Leith, at the south-west corner of St. Anthony's Wynd, stood the Preceptory of St. Anthony, founded by Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig in 1435. This was the only establishment of the order in Scotland. They followed the rule of St. Augustine, and appear to have been an order of religious knights, though not Knight Templars, as they are erroneously styled by Maitland, who has been misled in this by a charter of James VI. The magistrates of Edinburgh appear to have regarded them with special favour. Among their civic dues, as noted in the Council Records, was the right of levying a quart of wine out of every tun brought into the town. The "Rentale Buke," containing a list of the benefactors to the preceptory, written on vellum, in the year 1526, with a few additions in a later hand, is preserved in the Advocates' Library, wherein "It is statuit and ordanit in our Scheptour for sindri resonabil causis that the saulis of thaim that has gevin zeirlye perpetuall rent to this Abbay and Hospitall of Sanct Antonis besyd Leith, or has augmentit Goddis seruice be fundacion, or ony vther vays has gevyn substanciusly of thair gudis to the byggyn reperacion and vphaldyng of the forsaid Abbay and place, that thai be prayit for euerylk sunday till the day of dome."[2] The list of benefactors which follows is numerous, though in the majority of

[1] Pennant's *Tour*, vol. i. p. 69.

[2] *List of Benefactors, etc.*, Bann. Misc., vol. ii. p. 299.

cases the benefactions are of no great value. The obituary closes in 1499, and in little more than half a century thereafter the prayers for the dead, which the chapter had ordained to last *till the day of doom*, were abruptly brought to a close, and the preceptory was reduced nearly to a heap of ruins during the siege of Leith in 1560.[1] The ancient Hermitage and Chapel of St. Anthony, the ruins of which occupy a site of such singular beauty underneath the overhanging crags of Arthur's Seat, are believed to have formed a dependency of the preceptory at Leith, and to have been placed there to catch the seaman's eye as he entered the Firth, or departed on some long and perilous voyage, when his vows and offerings would be most freely made to the patron saint, and to the hermit who ministered at his altar. No record, however, now remains to supplement the tradition of its dedication to St. Anthony; but the silver stream, celebrated in the plaintive old song, "O waly, waly up yon bank," still wells clearly forth at the foot of the rock, filling the little basin of St. Anthony's Well, and rippling pleasantly through the long grass into the lower valley.

The Chapel and Hermitage of St. Anthony, though deserted and roofless, appear to have remained nearly entire, with the exception of the upper portion of the tower, till about the middle of the last century. Arnot, writing about the year 1779, remarks: "The cell of the hermitage yet remains. It is sixteen feet long, twelve broad, and eight high. The rock rises within two feet of the stone arch which forms its roof; and at the foot of the rock flows a pure stream, celebrated in an old Scottish ballad." But all that is now left is a small recess, with a stone ledge constructed partly in the natural rock, which appears to have been the cupboard for storing the simple refreshments of the hermit of St. Anthony. The chapel is described by the same writer as having been a beautiful Gothic building, well suited to the rugged sublimity of the rock. "It was forty-three feet long, eighteen feet broad, and eighteen high. At its west end there was a tower of nineteen feet square and, it is supposed, before its fall, about forty feet high. The doors, windows and roof, were Gothic; but it has been greatly dilapidated within the author's remembrance."[2] The tower is represented in the view of 1544 as finished with a plain gabled roof; and the building otherwise corresponds to this description. In a volume of drawings and engravings, *Memorials of Auld Reekie*, presented by the author to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, two drawings executed early in the present century show the ruins as they then existed, in a greatly more perfect condition than any of the present generation can recall them to have been. The wanton destruction of this picturesque and interesting ruin proceeded within our own recollection; but its further decay has at length been retarded for a time by repairs which were unfortunately delayed till a mere fragment of

[1] *Ante*, vol. i. p. 84.

[2] Arnot, p. 256.

the ancient hermitage remained. The plain corbels and a small fragment of the groined roof still stand; and an elegant sculptured stoup for holy water, which formerly projected from the north wall, was latterly among the antiquities in the garden of Messrs. Eagle and Henderson. It is described by Maitland as occupying a small arched niche, and opposite to this was another of larger dimensions, which was strongly secured for keeping the Pix with the consecrated bread;[1] but no vestige now remains of it, or of any portion of the south wall in which it stood.

St. Mary's Church at Leith appears to have been erected about the middle of the fourteenth century; but notwithstanding its size—what remains being only a small portion of the original edifice,—no evidence remains to show by whom it was founded. The earliest notice we have recovered is in 1490, when a contribution of an annual rent is made "by Peter Falconer, in Leith, to a chaplain in St. Piter's Alter, situat in the Virgin Mary Kirk in Leith."[2] Similar grants are conferred on the chaplains of St. Bartholomew's and St. Barbarie's Altars, the latest of which is dated 8th July 1499: the same year in which the Record of the Benefactors of the neighbouring preceptory is brought to a close.[3]

Maitland and Chalmers,[4] as well as all succeeding writers, agree in assigning the destruction of the choir and transepts of St. Mary's Church to the English invaders under the Earl of Hertford in 1544. But this appears to be a mere inference deducible from the burning of Leith by the English, immediately before their embarkation; a procedure which, unless accompanied by more violent modes of destruction, must have left the remainder of the church in the same condition as the nave which still exists. Such evidence as may still be gleaned from contemporary writers leaves little reason to doubt that the church was reduced to ruin during the siege of Leith in 1560, when it was subjected to much more destructive operations than the invaders' torch. It stood directly exposed to the fire of the English batteries, cast up on the neighbouring downs, and of which some remains are still left.[5] "In this meintyme," says Bishop Lesley, "the Inglismen lying encamped upoun the south est syd of the toun, besyd Mount Pellam, schot many gret schottis of cannonis and gret ordinances, at the parrishe Kirk of Leyth, and Sanct Anthoneis steple, quhilk was fortefiit with mounted artailyerie thairupoun be the Frenchmen, and brak doun the same."[6] An anonymous historian of the same period relates still more explicitly: "The 15th of Aprill, the fort wes cast and performed, scituate

[1] Maitland, p. 152.

[2] *Inventar of Pious Donations*, MS. Advoc. Lib.

[3] One charter of a later date is recorded in the *Inventar of Pious Donations*, by "Jo. Logane of Restalrig, mortifying in St. Anthony's Chapel in Leith, his tenement, lying on the south side of the Bridge, dated 10th February 1505.

[4] Maitland, p. 497; *Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 786.

[5] *Ante*, vol. i. p. 85.

[6] Lesley, p. 285.

upon the clay-hills, east from the Kirk of Leith, about twoe fflight shott; where the greate ordinance being placed, they beganne to shoote at St. Antonyes steeple in Leith, upon the which steeple the Frenchmen had mounted some artillerie, which wes verie noisome to the campe; bot within few howers after, the said steeple was broken and shott downe, *likewise they shott downe some part of the east end of the Kirk of Leith.*"[1] St. Mary's Church, as it existed at the time our drawing was made, showed at the east end two of the four great central pillars of the church, and was otherwise finished by constructing a window in the upper part of the west arch of the central tower, much in the same style as was adopted in converting the nave of Holyrood Abbey into a parish church. The date 1614, cut on the east gable, probably marked the period at which the ruins of the choir were cleared away. A range of five dormer windows was constructed at that date above both the centre and side aisles, and, though a novel addition to a Gothic church, must have had a picturesque effect. But all except the two western ones on the south side of the church were taken down in 1747,[2] and these were demolished in 1847, along with the east and west gables of the church, and, in fact, nearly every feature that was worth preserving; the architect having, with the perverse ingenuity of modern *restorers*, preserved only the more recent portions of the venerable edifice. As some slight atonement for this, the removal of the high-pitched roof of the side aisles brought to light a range of neat square-headed clerestory windows, which had remained concealed for upwards of two centuries; but the architect, unfortunately, had no familiarity with work of the period he undertook to remodel, and rejected the original form of the windows as debased. He accordingly substituted for their simple, double-light, square-headed form, with cusping of a novel character, the present pointed arches, which necessitated the raising of the walls, and so entirely altering the pitch of the roof. The whole is completed with a lavish display of angels and other stucco-work in the decoration of the centre aisle, effectually disguising the antique character of the interior.

The only other church that remains to be noticed is that of St. Cuthbert. Its parish appears to have been one of the earliest and most extensive districts set apart as a parochial charge. "The Church of St. Cuthbert," says Chalmers, "is unquestionably ancient, perhaps as old as the age which followed the demise of the worthy Cuthbert, towards the end of the seventh century." It was enriched by important grants, and particularly by the gift from Macbeth of Liberton, of the tithes and oblations of Legbernard,—a church of which all traces are now lost,—conferred on it in the reign of David I, previous to the foundation of Holyrood Abbey. The Chapels of Corstorphine and Liberton pertained to it. The Crown lands surrounding

[1] *A Historie of the Estate of Scotland*, Wodrow Misc., vol. i. p. 84. [2] Maitland, p. 494.

the Castle were bestowed on it by David I, and it claimed tithes of the fishing on the neighbouring coast; so that it was then the wealthiest church in Scotland, except that of Dunbar; but from the date of the foundation by David I. of the Abbey of Holyrood it became a vicarage, while the Abbey drew the greater tithes. Besides the high altar, there were in St. Cuthbert's Church altars dedicated to the Holy Trinity, to St. Anne, and other saints, of most of which no very accurate account is preserved. The ancient church stood in dangerous proximity to the Castle, so that it was subjected to many vicissitudes, and modified by successive alterations and repairs; until comparatively little of the original fabric remained when the whole was demolished about the middle of last century. In Gordon's bird's-eye view it appears as a cross church, with a belfry at the west gable, and a large square tower, probably of great antiquity, standing unroofed at the south-west corner of the nave. The ancient church was nearly reduced to a heap of ruins by the Duke of Gordon during the siege of the Castle in 1689; and little attempt was likely to be made at that period to preserve its early features in the necessary repairs preparatory to its again being used as the parish church.

Among the dependencies of the Church of St. Cuthbert there were the Virgin Mary's Chapel, Portsburgh, of which nothing more is known than its name and site; and St. Roque's and St. John's Chapels on the Borough Moor. About half a mile to the west of Grange House there stood, till the commencement of the present century, the ruins of the Chapel of St. Roque, dedicated to the celebrated saint of that name. A recent writer derives its title from the surname of a supposed founder, Simon La Roque, French ambassador,[1] but without assigning any authority. In the treasurer's accounts for 20th March 1501-2, the following entry occurs: "Item, to the wrichtis of Sanct Rokis Chapell xiiij s." This, it is probable, indicates the erection of the chapel, as it corresponds with the apparent date suggested by its style of architecture. It cannot, however, be certainly referred to the chapel on the Borough Moor, as a subsequent entry in 1505, of an offering "to Sanct Rowkis Chapell," describes the latter as at the end of Stirling Bridge. Of the following, however, there can be no doubt: "1507, Aug^{t} 15. The Sanct Rowkis day to the kingis offerand in Sanct Rowkis Chapell xiiij s." That this refers to the chapel on the Borough Moor of Edinburgh is proved by the evidence of two charters signed by the King at Edinburgh on the same day. The shrine of St. Roque was the special resort of afflicted outcasts, for the cure of certain loathsome diseases. Lindsay, in *The Monarchie*, describes the saint as himself bearing a boil or ulcer as the symbol of his peculiar powers—

[1] *Hist. of West Kirk*, p. 11. Possibly Monsieur La Crok, ambassador in 1567, is here meant. It is, at any rate, without doubt an error, originating probably in the similarity of the names.

"Sanct Roche, weill seisit, men may see
Ane byill new brokin on his knee."

And again, in speaking of domestic pilgrimages, he assigns to this saint the virtues for which he was most noted by the citizens of Edinburgh in early times—

"Sa doith our commoun populare,
Quhilk war to lang for till declare,
Thair superstitious pilgramagis,
To monie divers imagis:
Sum to Sanct Roche, with diligence,
To saif thame from the pestilence:
For thair teith to Sanct Apollene;
To Sanct Tredwell to mend thair ene."

The Chapel of St. Roque has not escaped the notice of Scott, among the varied features of the landscape that fill up the magnificent picture, as Lord Marmion, under the escort of Sir David Lindsay, looks down from the summit of Blackford Hill on the martial array of the kingdom covering the wooded links of the Borough Moor. James IV is there represented as occasionally wending his way to attend mass at the neighbouring Chapels of St. Catherine or St. Roque; nor is it unlikely that the latter may have been the scene of the monarch's latest acts of devotion, ere he led forth that gallant array to perish around him on the field of Flodden. The Church of St. John the Baptist, which was afterwards converted into the Chapel of the Convent of St. Katherine de Sienna, was then just completed; but George, fifth Lord Setoun, whose widow founded the convent a few years later, and Patrick Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, her father, were among the nobles who marshalled their followers around the Scottish standard, to march to the fatal field where both were slain.[1] In accordance with the attributes ascribed by Lindsay to St. Roque, we find his chapel resorted to by the victims of the plague, who encamped on the Borough Moor during the prevalence of that dreadful scourge in the sixteenth century; and the neighbouring cemetery became the resting-place of those who fell a prey to it. Among the statutes of the Burgh is the following for December 1530: "We do yow to wit, forsamekle as James Barbour, master and gouernour of the foule folk on the Mure, is to be clengit, and hes intromettit with sindry folkis gudis and clais quhilkis ar lyand in Sanct Rokis Chapell, Thairfor al maner of personis that has ony clame to the said gudis that thai cum on Tysday nixt to cum to the officiaris, and thar clais to be clengit, certyfyand thaim, and thai do nocht, that all the said clais gif thai be of litill availl sal be brynt, and the laif to be gevin to the pure folkis."[2] Arnot relates

[1] For a minute account of this foundation vide *The Convent of St. Catherine of Sienna*, by George Seton, M.A., F.S.A.Scot.

[2] *Acts and Statutes, Burgh of Edinburgh*, Mait. Misc., vol. ii. p. 117.

that this ancient chapel—an engraving of which is given in the re-issue of the quarto edition of his history,—escaped the demolition to which an old proprietor had doomed it, about the middle of last century, owing to the superstitious terrors of the workmen engaged to pull it down. The march of intellect, however, had made rapid strides ere its doom was a second time pronounced by a later proprietor, early in the present century, when the interesting and venerable ruin was swept away, as an unsightly encumbrance to the estate of a retired tradesman.

The teinds of the Borough Moor belonged of old to the Abbey of Holyrood; but this did not interfere with the acquirement of nearly the whole of its broad lands by private proprietors, or their transference to various ecclesiastical foundations. The name of Gillie Grange, by which a part of it is still known, and that of The Grange, the property of Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, Bart., preserve memorials of the grange or farm which belonged of old to the Collegiate Church of St. Giles. Here, towards the close of the prosperous reign of James IV, Sir John Crawford, a canon of St. Giles's Church, founded and endowed the Church of St. John the Baptist, portions of the ruins of which are believed still to form a part of the garden wall of a house on the west side of Newington, called Sciennes Hall. The following notice of its foundation occurs in the *Inventar of Pious Donations*, bearing the date 2d March 1512: "Charter of Confirmation of a Mortification be Sir Jo. Crawford, ane of the Prebenders of St. Giles Kirk, to a kirk bigged by him at St. Geillie Grange, mortyiefying yrunto 18 aikers of land, of the said lands, with the Quarrie Land given to him in Charitie be ye said brough, with an aiker and a quarter of a particate of land in his 3 aikers, and a half an aiker of the said mure pertaining to him, lying at the east side of the Common Mure, betwixt the lands of Jo. Cant on the west, and the Common Mure on the east and south parts, and the Murebrugh, now bigged, on the north." This church was designed as a chantry for the benefit of the founder and his kin, along with the reigning sovereign, the magistrates of Edinburgh, and such others as it was usual to include in the services for the faithful departed in similar foundations. The chaplain was required to be of the founder's family or name, and the patronage was assigned after his death to the Town Council of Edinburgh.

The Church of St. John the Baptist did not long remain a solitary chaplainry. Almost immediately after its erection, the Convent of St. Catherine de Sienna was founded by the Lady Seytoun, whose husband, George, third Lord Seton, was slain at the battle of Flodden. "Efter quhais deceiss," says the Chronicle of the House of Seytoun, "his ladye remanit wido continualie xlv yeiris. Sche was ane nobill and wyse ladye. Sche gydit hir sonnis leving quhill he was cumit of age; and thairefter sche passit

and remainit in the place of Senis, on the Borrow Mure, besyd Edinburgh, the rest of her lyvetyme. Quhilk place sche helpit to fund and big as maist principale."[1] The history of this religious foundation, one of the last effected in Scotland in Roman Catholic times, and the very last, we believe, to receive additions to the original foundation, acquires a peculiar interest when we consider it in connection with the general progress of opinion throughout Europe at the period. The Bull of Pope Leo X, by which its foundation is confirmed, is dated 29th January 1517. Cardinal Wolsey was then supreme in England, and Henry VIII was following out his career as a devoted son of the Church which won for him the title of *Defender of the Faith.* Charles V, the future Emperor of Germany, had just succeeded to the crown of Spain, and Martin Luther was still a brother of the order of St. Augustine. This very year Leo X sent forth John Tetzel, a Dominican monk, authorised to promote the sale of indulgences in Germany, and soon the whole of Europe was shaken by the strife of opinions. The peculiar circumstances in which Scotland then stood delayed its participation in the movement; and meanwhile the revenues of the Convent of St. Catherine de Sienna received various augmentations, and the Church of St. John the Baptist was annexed to it as the chapel of the convent. The nuns, however, were speedily involved in the troubles of the period; and in 1544 their convent shared the fate of the neighbouring capital from the barbarity of the English invaders. In 1567 their whole possessions passed into the hands of laymen, and the sisterhood of St. Catherine of Sienna were driven forth from the cloisters within whose shelter they had maintained the rules of their order with such strictness that even the pungent satirist, Sir David Lindsay, exempts them from the unsparing censure of his pen. In the first act of *The Satyre of the Three Estaitis*, Veritie enters with the English Bible in her hand, and is forthwith pronounced by the Parson a *Lutheran*, and remanded to the stocks. Chastitie follows, and in vain appeals to the Lady Prioress, the Abbot, the Parson, and my Lord Temporalitie, all of whom give the preference to Dame Sensualitie, and ignominiously dismiss her, until at length she is also consigned to the stocks. In her appeal to my Lord Temporalitie, she tells him she has come to prove "the temporal state," because the nuns have driven her out of doors. Nevertheless, in *The Complaynt of the Papingo*, when scared by the sensuality of "The sillie nunnis,"

> "Chaistitie thare na langer wald abyde:
> Sa for refuge, fast to the freiris scho fled,
> Quhilkis said, thay wald of ladyis tak na cure:
> Quhare bene scho now, than said the gredie Gled?
> Nocht amang yow, said scho, I yow assure:
> I traist scho bene, upon the Burrow-mure,

[1] *Hist. of House of Seytoun*, p. 37.

Besouth Edinburgh, and that richt mony menis,
Profest amang the sisteris of the Schenis.
Thare hes scho fund hir mother Povertie,
And Devotioun her awin sister carnall;
Thare hath scho fund Faith, Hope, and Cheritie,
Togidder with the vertues cardinall:
Thare hes scho fund ane convent, yet unthrall,
To dame Sensuall, nor with Riches abusit,
Sa quietlye those ladyis bene inclusit."

About three miles to the south of the Convent of St. Catherine of Sienna is the Balm Well of St. Catherine, celebrated in ancient times for its miraculous powers in curing all cutaneous diseases, and still resorted to for its medicinal virtues. Our old historian Boece tells how St. Catherine was commissioned by the pious Queen of Malcolm Canmore to bring to her oil from Mount Sinai; and staying to rest herself by this well on her return, she chanced to drop some of the holy oil into the water, from which both its peculiar characteristic, and its miraculous powers, were affirmed to be derived. A black bituminous substance constantly floats on the water, believed to be derived from the coal-seams that abound in the neighbourhood, and perhaps justly commands the faith still reposed in it as a remedy for the diseases to which it is applied. The well was enclosed at an early date, if not indeed by Queen Margaret; and a chapel, erected near it, was dedicated to the sainted Queen, but no vestige of it now remains. Thither, it is said, the nuns of the convent on the Borough Moor were wont to proceed annually in solemn procession, to visit the chapel and well, in honour of St. Catherine. When James VI returned to Scotland in 1617 he visited the well, and commanded it to be re-enclosed with an ornamental building, with steps to afford ready access to the healing waters; but this was demolished by the soldiers of Cromwell, and the well now remains surrounded only with the plain stonework with which it was partially repaired at the Restoration.[1]

With the Convent of St. Catherine of Sienna, the last foundation of the adherents of the old faith, we may fitly close these Memorials of the olden time. An unpicturesque fragment of the ruins of the convent remained in very recent years and served as a sheep-fold for the flocks that pastured in the neighbouring meadow; and the name of the Sciennes, by which the ancient Mure-burgh is now known, still preserves some slight remembrance of the abode of "the Sisters of the Schenis," where *Chastitie* found hospitable welcome at a time when the bold Scottish satirist represents her as spurned from every other door. A few notes in reference to some of the more recent ecclesiastical erections are reserved for the Appendix; but there is a lack of definite character in modern ecclesiastical architecture, which, altogether apart from any sacred or historical associations attached to it, deprives the

[1] *Archæol. Scot.* vol. i. p. 323.

majority of the churches of recent date of that interest with which we view the architectural remains of the Middle Ages. Instead of stuccoed ceilings and plaster walls, we find in the old fabrics solid ribs of stone, and the arched vaulting adorned with mouldings and richly sculptured bosses. The clustered piers range along the aisles like the huge oaks of the forest, and their fan-like groinings recall the spreading boughs, from whence their old builders have been supposed to have derived the idea of these massive columns and the o'er-arching roof.

Yet, after all, the olden time with which we have dealt is a comparatively modern one. The relics even of St. Margaret's Chapel, of David's Monastery of the Holy Rood, and the Maiden Castle which Chalmers ranks only as "first of modern antiques,"[1] would possess but poor claims to our interest, as mere antiquities, beside the temples of Egypt or the marble columns of the Acropolis. The Castle, indeed, is found to have been occupied as a strong-hold as far back as any trustworthy record extends; and beyond this older chroniclers gravely adduce traditions which assign to it an origin coeval with the Temple of Solomon, and centuries before the founding of Rome! Wyntoun records of the renowned "Kyng Ebrawce," who flourished 989 years before the Christian era—

> "He byggyd EDYNBURGH wyth-alle,
> And gert thaim Allynclowd it calle,
> The Maydyn castell, in sum place
> The sorowful Hil it callyd was."—B. III. c. iii. l. 135.

We are still in a region of myth and fable in the era of Fergus the First, the famed progenitor of one hundred and eighteen sovereigns, "of the same unspotted blood and royal line," who began his reign 330 years before Christ. Fergus, however, was no plebeian upstart. He again traced his descent from Milesius, who reigned in Ireland 1300 years before the Christian era, and "who makes the twenty-sixth degree inclusively from Noe; the twenty-first from Niul, a son of Fenius-farsa, King of Scythia, a prince very knowing in all the languages then spoken; the twentieth from Gaedhal-Glass, a contemporary with Moses and Pharaoh; the seventeenth inclusively from Heber-Scot, an excellent bow-man!"[2] Upon the whole, we are put in the fair way of tracing King Fergus's genealogy back to Adam: a satisfactory and credible beginning, in case any of its more recent links should be thought to stand in need of proof. Leaving such famous worthies of the olden time, we come thereafter to Edwin, King of Northumbria, the reputed transformer of Ptolemy's Castrum Alatum, and Fergus's Caer Eden, into the Edwinsburg of Anglian Northumbria, of whom we possess some vague historical data, though there seems good reason for questioning the derivation of the later

[1] *Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 569.

[2] Dr. Mathew Kennedy, Abercromby's *Martial Achievements*, vol. i. p. 4.

name of the burgh from the Northumbrian king, or accrediting him with the conquest and occupation of the Castle in the seventh century. The ancient Church of St. Cuthbert does indeed suggest the intrusion of Angles from Northumbria at an early date, though rather as Christian missionaries than as conquerors. But the authentic history both of the Castle and town begins with the reign of Malcolm Canmore and the Saxon Princess whose name is indelibly associated with the fortress and the little oratory that still crowns its highest cliff.

With the reign of Malcolm III we enter not only on a succession of well-authenticated historical events associated with the Castle; but with personal incidents relating to the actors, and with occurrences replete with romantic interest. The unique features of the landscape, with the strongly marked characteristics that distinguish it from ordinary civic sites, are seen gradually transformed from forest and barren cliff, to the busy centre of national life. From the days when the saintly Queen enshrined the famous Black Rood in the chapel that still bears her name, to the time when her own relics were brought thither in anticipation of the birth of the Prince destined to unite the crowns of Malcolm's and Margaret's lines; romance and tradition contend with history, linking the names of Scottish Queens with the citadel, and with the Abbey and Palace of the Holy Rood. But now the quaint old town built on the sloping ridge between those historic points has become a mere nucleus of the modern city that stretches over the wide area between the Pentland slopes and the Firth.

Retracing the prolonged succession of events that have wrought this change, the familiar scenes that surround us acquire a new aspect, and become pregnant with a deeper meaning than the beauty of the landscape, or the unrivalled grandeur of the old city that occupies its heights. History becomes a living drama, instead of a mere bundle of dusty parchments; and the actors, who pass before us in its many changing scenes, reappear once more as men and women of like passions with ourselves. With this feeling the attempt has been made to revive the fading traces of the old Scottish capital; and to preserve an authentic record of remains of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which, like their predecessors, are fast passing away beyond recall. "The walles," says Taylor the Water poet, in his *Pennylesse Pilgrimage*, "are eight or tenne foot thicke, exceeding strong, not built for a day, a weeke, or a moneth, or a yeere, but from Antiquitie to Posteritie, for many Ages." *Posteritie*, however, finds little that suits its changed tastes and habits in these "goodlie houses," and is busy replacing them with structures more adapted to modern wants; but the very fact of their having thus become obsolete confers on them a value as monuments of a period and state of society altogether different from our own. This it is that gives to the pursuits of the antiquary their true significance. These relics of the past,

however insignificant they may appear in themselves, present a very different claim on our interest when thus regarded as the memorials of national history, or the key to the manners and the habits of our forefathers. As such they have acquired a worth which no mere lapse of time could confer; nor have our fathers played so mean a part in the history of nations that their memorials should possess an interest only for ourselves.

Enriched stringcourse, Trinity College Church.

APPENDIX

I. EDINBURGH—FIRST IMPRESSIONS

THE following reference to Edinburgh by a foreigner, evidently describing the first impression conveyed by the view of it from the Forth, occurs in a curious French poem, "Le Chevalier sans reproche Jacques de Lalain, par Messire Jean d'Ennetieres," etc. Tournay, 1632. 8vo. In this the 9th canto is occupied with the details of a combat between the hero and James (9th) Earl of Douglas, fought at Stirling in presence of the King, three against three. Towards the close of the preceding canto (p. 206) Edinburgh is thus described,—Lalain's vessel having arrived in the Forth—

"Edymbourgk toutesfois fait paroistre ses cornes,
Au dessous d'un espois de nuages bien mornes.
Devers l'Est, et le Sud là ceint une muraille,
Du costé du couchant, il ne luy faut tenaille
Ny bouleuert flancquant; car un bien haut rocher
La couvre tellement qu'on ne peut l'approcher.
Là dessus le chasteau est de nature telle,
Que l'Escoçois le dit le fort de la Pucelle:
Tant l'a fortifié la nature avec l'art,
Que des filles pouroyent maintenir tel rampart.
Au Nort un precipice en hauteur effroyable,
Le rend de celle part de tout point imprenable."

II. ANCIENT MAPS AND VIEWS OF EDINBURGH

1544.—The frequent reference to maps of different dates through the Work renders some account of them desirable for the general reader. The oldest, and by far the most valuable, is that of which a facsimile is given in the first volume of the *Bannatyne Miscellany*, to illustrate a description of Edinburgh, referred to in the course of this Work, by Alexander Alesse, a native of Edinburgh, born 23d April 1500, who embraced the Protestant faith about the time when Patrick Hamilton, the first Scottish martyr, was brought to the stake in 1527. He left Scotland about the year 1532 to escape a similar fate, and is believed to have died at Leipzig in 1565. The original map is preserved in the British Museum (MS. Cotton. Augustus 1, vol. ii. Art. 56), and is assigned with every appearance of probability to the year 1544, the date of the Earl of Hertford's expedition under Henry VIII. The map may be described as chiefly consisting of a view from the Calton Hill, and represents Arthur Seat and the Abbey apparently with minute accuracy. The higher part of the town

is spread out more in the character of a bird's-eye view; but there also the churches, the Nether Bow Port, and other prominent features afford proof of its general correctness. The buildings about the Palace and the whole of the upper town have their roofs coloured red, as if to represent tiles, while those in the Canongate are coloured gray, probably to show that they were thatched with straw. The only other view that bears any near resemblance to the last occurs in the corner of one of the maps in *John Speed's Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, published at London in 1611. It is, perhaps, only a reduction of it, with some additions from other sources. It must have been made, at any rate, many years before its publication, as both the Blackfriars' Church and the Kirk-of-Field form prominent objects in the town. Trinity College Church is introduced surmounted by a spire. St. Andrew's Port, at the foot of Leith Wynd, appears as a gate of some architectural pretensions; and the old Abbey and Palace of Holyrood, with the intricate enclosing walls surrounding them, are deserving of comparison with the more authentic view.

1573.—The next in point of time is a plan engraved on wood for Holinshed's *Chronicles*, 1577, and believed to be the same that is referred to in "A Survey taken of the Castle and towne of Edinbrogh in Scotland, by vs Rowland Johnson and John Fleminge, servantes to the Q. Ma^tie^, by the comandement of S^r^ William Drury, Knighte, Governor of Berwicke, and Mr. Henry Killigrave, Her Ma^ties^ Embassador." The view in this is from the south, but it is chiefly of value as showing the position of the besiegers' batteries. The town is mapped out into little blocks of houses, with singular-looking heroes in trunk hose interspersed among them, tall enough to step over their roofs! A facsimile of this illustrates the "Journal of the Siege," in the second volume of the *Bannatyne Miscellany*. Of the same date is a curious plan of the Castle, mentioned in Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*: "At Ridlesworth Hall, Norfolk, is a picture of Sir William Drury, Lord Chief-Justice of Ireland, 1579, by which hangs an old plan of Edinburgh Castle, and two armies before it, and round it —*Sir William Drurye, Knt., General of the Englishe, wanne Edinburghe Castle* 1573."—Gough's *British Topography*, vol. ii. p. 667.

1580.—Another map, which has been frequently engraved, was published about 1580 in Braun's *Civitates Orbis*. "Any person," says the editor of the *Bannatyne Miscellany* (vol. i. p. 185), "who is acquainted with the localities of the place may easily perceive that this plan has been delineated by a foreign artist from the information contained in the printed text, and not from any actual survey or sketch; and consequently is of little interest or value." The same, however, might, with equal propriety, be said of the preceding map, which has fully as many errors as the one now referred to. The latter is certainly much too correct, according to the style of depiction adopted in these bird's-eye maps, to admit of the idea of its being drawn from description, though it is not improbable that it may have been made up from other maps, without personal survey. It affords some interesting points of comparison with that of 1574.

1645.—About this date two drawings of Edinburgh appear to have been made, from which engravings were executed in Holland. From their style of drawing it is exceedingly probable that they are the work of Gordon of Rothiemay, previous to executing the bird's-eye view from the south, described in next paragraph. They are engraved on one large sheet of copper, forming long, narrow, panoramic views, each of them measuring seven and a half inches by twenty-two and a half inches within the work; and are now very rarely to be met with. The first is inscribed, VRBIS EDINÆ FACIES MERIDIONALIS—*The Prospect of the South Side of Edinburgh.* The

point of sight appears to be towards St. Leonard's Hill. Heriot's Hospital is introduced without the dome of the centre tower, and with the large towers at the angles covered with steep pointed roofs,—a rude representation seemingly of the ogee roofs with which at least two of them were originally surmounted (*vide* vol. ii. p. 168). Beside it is the Old Greyfriars, as it then stood, with a plain square tower at its west end. But the most conspicuous object in both views is "*The Tron Kirk with the Steeple*," as it is described, though it consists only of the square tower, finished with a plain and very flat slanting roof; an object which suffices very nearly to determine the date of the drawing. *The Nether Bow Steeple* and *the Steeple of Canno-tolbuith* are also introduced with tolerable accuracy. The Palace is unfortunately very rudely executed. The Abbey Church, with its tower and spire, and James the Fifth's Tower are the only portions shown, and neither of them very well drawn. A wall runs from the Palace along the South Back of the Canongate to the Cowgate Port, pierced with small doors, and entitled *The Back Entries to the Cannon-gait.*

The companion view from the Calton Hill is entitled VRBIS EDINÆ LATVS SEPTENTRIONALE. The most prominent objects are the same as in the former, including the unfinished steeple of the Tron Church. In both *the High Kirk Steeple* is very imperfectly rendered, though indeed no old view renders St. Giles's beautiful crown tower correctly. *The Castle Chappel* is marked in both views; and in the latter, both it and the large ancient church on the north side of the Grand Parade form the most prominent objects in the Castle. The Palace is entirely concealed in the latter view; and in both of them no attention appears to have been paid to any details in the private buildings of the town. The copy of these we have examined, and the only one we have ever seen, is in the collection of Dr. David Laing. The plate has no date or engraver's name.

1647.—Maitland remarks (*History of Edinburgh*, p. 86): "In this year, 1647, a draught or view of Edinburgh being made by James Gordon, minister of Rothemay, by order of the Common Council, they ordered the sum of Five Hundred Marks to be paid him for the pains and trouble he had been at in making the same." This view or plan, which was engraved at Amsterdam by De Wit on a large scale, is one of the most accurate and valuable records that could possibly exist. It is a bird's-eye view taken from a south point of sight, and measures forty-one and a quarter inches long by sixteen inches broad. The public buildings are represented with great minuteness and fidelity, and in the principal streets almost every house of any note along the north side may be distinguished. A very careful copy of this was published at London, with views of the town in the corners of the plate, early in the following century, "exactly done from the original of ye famous De Wit, by And^{r}. Johnston," and is dedicated to the Hon. George Lockhart, the celebrated politician, better known as "Union Lockhart." Another tolerably accurate facsimile of the original plan was engraved by Kirkwood on the same large scale in the present century; but the plate and the chief portion of the impressions perished in the great fire of 1824, the premises of the engraver being at that time in the Parliament Square. Gough remarks, in his *Topography* (vol. ii. p. 673): "The Rev. Mr. James Gordon of Rothemay's plan of Edinburgh has been re-engraved in Holland, but not so accurately as that done from his own drawing, in vol. xii. of Piere Vauder Aa's 'Gallerie agreable du Monde,' a collection of plans, views of towns, etc., in 66 vols. thin folio, at Leyden." A reduced facsimile of it forms the frontispiece to this volume.

1650.—Another rare view of Edinburgh from the south, engraved by Rombout Van den Hoyen, appears to have been drawn about 1650. In the left corner of the sky the

arms of Scotland are introduced, not very accurately drawn; a flying scroll bears the name *Edynburgum*, and above the sky is the inscription *Edenburgum Civitas Scotiæ celeberima.* Two mounted figures are introduced in the foreground, riding apparently over the ridge of St. Leonard's Hill, along the ancient Dumbiedykes Road, towards the town. The date of the view is ascertainable from the introduction of the Weigh House steeple, demolished by Cromwell in 1650, and the spire of the Tron Church, which was completed about 1663, although the church was so far advanced in 1647 as to be used as a place of worship. The destruction of the greater part of the ancient Palace in the former year affords further evidence of this view having been taken about that period, as it is represented with considerable accuracy as it stood previous to the fire. The north garden is laid out in the formal style of the period, with *Queen Mary's Bath* very accurately introduced in the angle formed by two of the enclosing garden walls. It appears to have been engraved in Holland, and is illustrated with a stanza in Latin, Dutch, and French, consisting of a very self-complacent soliloquy of the good town on its own ancient glory.

1693.—The THEATRUM SCOTIÆ of Captain John Slezer was printed at London in 1693. He visited this country for the first time in 1669, so that the drawings of the interesting series of Scottish views published by him must have been made during the interval between these dates. They are of great value, being in general very faithful representations of the chief towns and most important edifices in Scotland at that period. Much curious information in reference to the progress of this national work has been selected from the records in the General Register House, and printed in vol. ii. of the *Bannatyne Miscellany.* Among these, the following items of the Captain's account of "Debursements" afford some insight into the mode of getting up the views:—

		Lib. Sterlin.
IMPRIMIS,	For bringing over a Painter, his charges to travel from place to place, and for drawing these 57 draughts contained in the said Theatrum Scotiæ, at 2 lib. sterlin per draught . . .	0114 : 00 : 00
ITEM,	To Mr. Whyte at London for engraving the said 57 draughts, at 4 lib. 10 shillings over head	0256 : 10 : 00
ITEM,	To Mr. Wycke, the battell painter at London, for touching and filling up the said 57 draughts with little figures, at 10 shillings sterlin per piece, inde	0028 : 10 : 00
ITEM,	Captain Slezer hath been at a considerable loss by 12 plates of prospects, which were spoiled in Holland, as partly appears by a contract betwixt Doctor Sibbald and the said Captain, dated anno 1691, which loss was at least	0072 : 10 : 00

In the early edition of Slezer's views the only general *Prospect* of Edinburgh is the one from the Dean. But the view of the Castle from the south also includes some interesting portions of the Old Town, and to those another view of the Castle from the north-east was afterwards added. Four different editions of the *Theatrum Scotiæ* are described in Gough's *British Topography*, and a fifth edition of 100 copies was published at Edinburgh in 1814, edited by the Rev. Dr. Jamieson, with a life of Slezer and other additional matter, and illustrated with impressions from the original plates, which are still in existence. The work is to be met with in most public libraries, and affords some curious views of the chief towns of Scotland, as they existed in the latter end of the seventeenth century.

1700.—About this date is a large and very accurate view of Edinburgh from the north, which has been engraved more than once. The original plate, which appears

first in the third edition of Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiæ*, dedicated to the Marquis of Annandale, was published in 1718. It is a long view, with the Calton Hill forming the foreground, beyond which Trinity College Church and Paul's Work appear on one side, with the North Loch stretching away towards the Wellhouse Tower. The large ancient church of the Castle, as well as St. Margaret's Chapel, form prominent objects in the Castle; while in the town the Nether Bow Port, the old High School, demolished in 1777, and others of the ancient features of the city, are introduced with considerable care and accuracy of detail. The whole is engraved with great spirit, but no draughtsman's or engraver's name is attached to it. Another copy of the same on a still larger scale, though of inferior merit as an engraving, is dedicated to Queen Anne.

1742.—Of this date is Edgar's map of Edinburgh, engraved for Maitland's *History of Edinburgh.* It was drawn by William Edgar, architect, for the purpose of being published on a much larger scale; but he died before this could be accomplished, when it was fortunately engraved by Maitland, on a scale sufficiently large for reference to most of its details. It is of great value as an accurate and trustworthy ground plan of the city almost immediately before the schemes of civic reform began to modify its ancient features. A very useful companion to this is a large map, "including all the latest improvements," and dedicated to Provost Elder in 1793. It contains a very complete reference to all the closes and wynds in the Old Town, many of which have since disappeared, while alterations in the names of those that remain add to the value of this record of their former nomenclature.

1753.—A small folio plate of Edinburgh from the north-west, bearing this date, is engraved from a drawing by Paul Sandby. It appears to have been taken from about the site of Charlotte Square, though the town is represented at a greater distance. Its chief value arises from the idea it gives of the site of the New Town, consisting, on the west side of the Castle, where the Lothian Road has since been made, of formal rows of trees, and beyond them a great extent of ground mostly bare and unenclosed. Old St. Cuthbert's Church is seen at the foot of the Castle rock, with a square central tower surmounted by a low spire.

In 1816 an ingenious old plan of Edinburgh and its environs was published by Kirkwood on a large scale. He has taken Edgar as his authority for the Old Town; South Leith from a survey by Wood in 1777; the intervening ground, including North Leith and the site of the New Town, from a survey made in 1759 by John Fergus and Robert Robinson; and the south of Edinburgh, including the whole ground to the Pow Burn, from another made the same year by John Scott. It is further embellished with a reduced copy of the view of 1580, and a plan of Leith made in 1681. The names of most of the proprietors of ground are given from the two last surveys, belonging to the town, and the whole forms a tolerably complete and curious record of the neighbourhood of Edinburgh about the middle of the eighteenth century.

Gough remarks in his *British Topography*, with reference to John Clerk, Esq., of Eldin,—whose amateur performances with the etching needle are coveted by collectors of topographical illustrations on account of their rarity, a few impressions only having been printed for private distribution,—"I am informed he intends to etch some views of Edinburgh of large size, having made some very accurate drawings for that purpose." Two of these, at least, have been etched on narrow plates, about fifteen inches long. One of them, a view from the north, has Lochend and Logan of Restalrig's old tower in the foreground; with the initials J. C. and the date 1774. The other is from the

head of the Links, with Wrychtishousis mansion in the foreground. They are not, however, so accurate as Gough, or more probably his Scottish authority, Mr. George Paton, had anticipated.

To this list we may add a south view of Edinburgh by Hollar, on two sheets. We have never seen a copy of it, nor met with any person who has seen more than one of the sheets, now at Cambridge. It is very rare, has no date, and is perhaps after all only a copy of Gordon's bird's-eye view. Gough mentions an ancient drawing of Edinburgh preserved in the Charter Room of Heriot's Hospital, but no such thing is now known to exist, although the careful researches of Dr. Steven, in the preparation of his history of the Hospital, could hardly have failed to discover it, had it remained there.

Of modern views the best is that drawn by W. H. Williams, or as he is more frequently styled, Grecian Williams, and engraved on a large scale with great ability and taste by William Miller. It is taken from the top of Arthur Seat, so that it partakes of the character of a bird's-eye view, with all the beauty of correct perspective and fine pictorial effect.

A rare and interesting print published in 1751, engraved from a drawing by Paul Sandby, preserves a view of Leith at that period. It is taken from the old east road; but owing to the nature of the ground, and the site of the town being chiefly a declivity towards the river, little more is seen than the nearest rows of houses, and the steeple of St. Mary's Church. The rural character of the neighbouring downs, however, is curious; as well as a singular-looking old-fashioned carriage, which forms one of the most prominent objects in the view.

III. CHURCHES

TRON CHURCH.—The Tron Church, or Christ's Church at the Tron, as it should be more correctly termed, is one of two churches founded about the year 1637, in consequence of want of accommodation for the citizens in the places of worship then existing. They proceeded very slowly, impeded no doubt by the political disturbances of the period. In 1647 the Church at the Tron was so far advanced as to admit of its being used for public worship, but it was not entirely finished till 1663. On the front of the tower, over the great doorway, a large ornamental panel bears the city arms in *alto relievo*, and beneath them the inscription ÆDEM HANC CHRISTO ET ECCLESIÆ SACRARUNT CIVES EDINBURGENSES, ANNO DOM. MDCXLI. Some account has been given (vol. ii. p. 54) of the changes effected on the church in opening up the southern approaches to the city in the year 1785. It is finished internally with an open timber roof, somewhat similar to that in the Parliament House; but its effect has been greatly impaired by the shortening of the church when it was remodelled externally. In 1824 the old steeple was destroyed by fire. It was built according to a design frequently repeated on the public buildings throughout Scotland at that period, but the examples of which are rapidly disappearing. Old St. Nicolas's Church at Leith still preserves the model on a small scale, and the tower of Glasgow College was nearly a facsimile of it. The old tower of St. Mary's Church, as engraved in our view, was a nearly similar design, but that has been since taken down; and a destructive fire has demolished another example of this favourite model at the Town Hall, Linlithgow. The site chosen for the second of the two churches projected in 1637 was the Castle Hill, on the ground now occupied by the Reservoir. The building of the latter church was carried to a considerable extent, as appears from Gordon's

View of Edinburgh, drawn about ten years later; but, according to Arnot's account, the magistrates discovering by that time that it was much easier to plan than to build such edifices, they "pulled down the unfinished church on the Castel Hill, and employed the materials in erecting the Tron." There is good reason, however, for believing that Arnot is mistaken in this account of the interruption of the building. It is unquestionable, at any rate, that at no period since the Reformation has the same zeal been manifested for religious foundations as appears to have prevailed at that period. In 1639, according to Arnot, David Machall, merchant burgess of Edinburgh, left three thousand five hundred merks, or, as in the *Inventar of Pious Donations*, "1000 merks yearly, to maintain a chaplain in the Tron Church of Edin^r^ to mak Exercise every Sunday from 8 to 9 in the morning." In 1647 Lady Yester founded the church that bears her name; and in 1650 Thomas Moodie, or, as he is styled in Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiæ*, Sir Thomas Moodie of Sachtenhall, bequeathed the sum of twenty thousand merks to the Town Council, in trust, for building a church in the town, and which, after various projects for its application to different purposes, was at length made use of for providing a church for the parishioners of the Canongate on their ejection from Holyrood Abbey by James VII in 1687. Such does not seem to be a period when a church which had been in progress for years, and, as would appear from Gordon's View, was advancing towards completion, would be deliberately levelled with the ground, from the difficulty of raising the necessary funds. The following entry in the *Inventar of Pious Donations* throws new light both on this and on the object of Moodie's bequest: "Tho^s^ Mudie left for the reedyfing to the Kirk that was throwne doun by the English in the Castle Hill of Ed^r^, 40,000 merks,—but what is done y^r^in I know not." There is added on the margin in a later hand, seemingly that of old Robert Milne, *circa* 1700: "The Wigs built the Canongate Kirk y^r^w^t^." From this it appears that the church on the Castle Hill shared the same fate as the old Weigh House, its materials having most probably been converted into redoubts for Cromwell's artillery during the siege of the Castle, for which purpose they lay very conveniently at hand. In the year 1673 a bell which cost 1490 merks and 8 shillings Scots was hung up in the steeple, and continued weekly to summon the parishioners to church till the great fire of 1824, when, after hanging till it was partly melted by the heat, it fell with a tremendous crash among the blazing ruins of the steeple. Portions of it were afterwards made into quaichs and other similar memorials of the conflagration. In 1678 the furnishing of the steeple was completed by putting up there the old clock that had formerly belonged to the Weigh House tower.

The bequest of Thomas Moodie appears to have cost its trustees some little concern how to dispose of it, a few years having sufficed to effect very radical changes on the ideas of the civic council as to the church accommodation required by the citizens. Fountainhall records in 1681 (vol. i. p. 156), "The Town of Edinburgh obtain an act anent Thomas Moodie's legacy and mortification to them of 20,000 merks, that in regard they have no use for a church (which was the end whereto he destined it), that therefore they might be allowed to invert the same to some other public work. The Articles and Parliament recommended the Town to the Privy Council, to see the will of the defunct fulfilled as near as could be; for it comes near to sacrilege to invert a pious donation. The Town offers to buy with it a peal of bells to hang in St. Gile's steeple, to ring musically, and to warn to church, and to build a Tolbooth above the West Port of Edinburgh, and to put Thomas Moodie's name and arms thereon. Some thought it better to make it a stipend to the Lady

Yester's Kirk, or to a minister to preach to all the prisoners in the Canongate and Edinburgh Tolbooths, and at the Correction-house, Sunday about." In the records of the Privy Council, 15th May 1688, when Moodie's bequest was finally appropriated towards providing the ejected burghers of Canongate with a Parish Church, it appears that the annual interest of it had been appropriated to the payment of the Bishop of Edinburgh's house rent (Fountainhall's *Decisions*, vol. i. p. 505). The arms of Moodie now form a prominent ornament on the front of the Canongate Church. In the vestry an elevation of the church is preserved, having a steeple attached to its south front; but the funds which had been raised for this ornamental addition were appropriated to build the Chapel of Ease at the head of New Street.

LADY YESTER'S CHURCH.—The *Inventar of Pious Donations* appends to a long list of pious *mortifications*, by Lady Yester, a genealogical sketch, which we correct and complete from Wood, who thus describes the ecclesiastical origin of the Lothian family: "Mark Ker, second son of Sir Andrew Ker of Cessford, entering into holy orders, was promoted in 1546 to the dignity of Abbot of Newbottle; which station he possessed at the Reformation, 1560, when he renounced the profession of popery, and held his benefice in commendam. . . . He married Lady Helen Lesly, second daughter of George, fourth Earl of Rothes, and by her had issue, Mark. On the death of his father in 1584, the Commendatorship of Newbottle, to which the latter had been provided by Queen Mary in 1567, was ratified to him by letters under the Great Seal; and he was also appointed one of the extraordinary Lords of Session in his father's place, 12th November 1584. He had the lands of Newbottle erected into a barony, with the title of a Baron, 28th July 1587," etc. This was the father of Lady Yester, of whom the following account appears in the *Inventar*: "The s^{d} Dame Margaret Ker was the eldest [the third] daughter of Mark, Commendator of Newbottle, one of the lo/ of council and sesion, yrafter E. of Lothian, procreat betwixt him and [Margaret] Maxwell, a daughter of Jo. lo/ Herries. In her young years she was 1st married to Ja. Lo. Hay of Yester, and by her wise and vertuous government she was most instrumental in preserving and improving of the s^{d} estate. By him she had two sons, Jo. lo/ Hay of Yester, yrafter E. of Tweedale, and Sir Wm. her 2d son, for whom she purchased the Barrone of Linplam, etc. The s^{d} Dame Margaret Ker having lived many years a widow, she married Sir Andrew Ker, younger of Fernyhirst, and procured his father to be made Lo/ Jedburgh. Besides the many gardens, buildings, parks, made be her in all places belonging to her husband, in every paroch q^{r} either of her husbands had money-rents, she erected and built hospitals and schools." After this follows the list, which is altogether surprising, as evidence of continued munificence and benevolent piety; among which are the following items:—

"Towards the building of the Town [Tron?] Kirk of Edin^{r}., she gifted 1000 m.

"She built an kirk near the High School in Ed^{r}., and bestowed toward the building y^{r}of £1000, with 5000 m. for the use of the minister of the s^{d} church, and a little before her death caused joyne y^{r}to an little Isle for the use of the minister, q^{r} she lies interred, with an tomb in the wall with this inscription—

"Its needless to erect a marble Tomb:
The daily bread, that for the hungry womb,
And bread of life, thy bounty hath provided
For hungry souls, all times to be divided:
World-lasting monuments shall reare,
That shall endure till Christ Himself appear.

Pos'd was thy life; prepar'd thy happy end;
Nothing in either was without commend,
Let it be the care of all who live hereafter,
To live and die like Margaret Lady Yester:
Who died 15th March 1647. Her age 75."

The old Lady Yester's Church, built in 1644, stood at the corner of the High School Wynd surrounded by a churchyard. It is a proof of the flimsy character of modern ecclesiastical edifices, as well as the little veneration they excited in the minds of the worshippers, that this church has already disappeared, and been rebuilt considerably to the westward, in a very strange and nondescript style of architecture. The tomb of the foundress, and the tablet recording her good works, are both rebuilt in the new church, and we presume her body has also been removed to the new "minister's little isle."

IV. CORPORATION AND MASONIC HALLS

CANDLEMAKERS.—The hall of this ancient corporation still stands at the Candlemaker Row, with the arms of the craft boldly cut over the doorway on a large panel, and beneath their appropriate motto, *Omnia manifesta luce.* Internally, however, the hall is subdivided into sundry small apartments; much more circumscribed accommodation sufficing for the assembly of the fraternity in these days of gaslight and reform. The Candlemakers of Edinburgh were incorporated by virtue of a Seal of Cause granted them in 1517, wherein it is required "That na maner of Man nor Woman occupy the said Craft, as to be ane Maister, and to set up Buit, bot gif he be ane Freman, or ells an Freman's Wyfe of the said Craft, allanerlie; and quhan thay set up Buit, thay sall pay to Sanct Geil's Wark half a mark of sylver, and to the Reparatioun, bylding, and uphalding of the Licht of ony misterfull Alter within the College Kirk of Sanct Geils, quhair the said Deykin and Craftismen thinks maist neidfull, and half ane Mark by and quhill the said Craftismen be furnist of ane Alter of thair awin. And in lykwayis, ilk Maister and Occupiar of the said Craft sall, in the Honour of Almichtie God, and of his blessit Mother, Sanct Marie, and of our Patroun, Sanct Geill, and of all Sanctis of Heaven, sall gif zeirlie to the helping and furthering of ony guid Reparatioun, either of Licht or ony other neidfull wark till ony Alter situate within the College Kirk, maist neidfull, Ten Shillings; and to be gaderit be the Deykin of the said Craft, ay and quhill thay be provydit of an Alter to thameselffis: and he that disobeis the same, the Deykin and the Leif of the Craft sall poynd with ane Officiar of the Toun, and gar him pay walx to oure Lady's Alter, quhill thay get an Alter of thair awin. And that nane of the said Craftismen send ony Lads, Boyis, or Servands, oppinlie upoun the Hie-gaitt with ony Candill, to roup or to sell in playne Streites, under the payne of escheiting of the Candill, paying ane pund of walx to oure Lady's Alter, the first falt," etc. It does not appear whether or not the Craft ever founded an altar or adopted a patron saint of their own, before the *new light* of the Reformers of the Congregation put an end to the whole system of candle-gifts and forfeits to the altars of St. Giles's Church. The venerable fraternity of Candlemakers still exists, no unworthy sample of a close corporation. The number of its members amounts to *three*, who annually meet for the purpose of electing the office-bearers of the corporation, and distributing equitably the salaries and other perquisites accruing to them from its funds, in return for their onerous duties!

TAILORS.—The Corporation of Tailors, a more ancient fraternity,—claiming indeed

as their founder the first stitcher of fig-leaf aprons, or, according to the old Geneva Bible, of *breeches*, in the plains of Mesopotamia,—appear to have had an altar in St. Giles's Church, dedicated to their patron saint, St. Ann, at the date of their Seal of Cause, A.D. 1500. In 1554 Robert, Commendator of the Abbey of Holyrood, grants to "ye Tailzour crawft within our said Brwcht of the cannogait of our said Abbay," Letters of Incorporation, which specially provide for "augmentation of diuine seruice at ane altar biggit within our said Abbay, quhair Sanct An, thair patrone, now stands." So that this saint appears to have been the adopted patroness of the craft in general.

Though the fine old hall in the Cowgate has long been abandoned by this Corporation, they still exist as a body, and have a place of meeting in Carrubber's Close, one of the chief ornaments of which is an autograph letter of James VI, addressed to the Tailors of Edinburgh, which hangs framed and glazed over the old fireplace. St. Magdalene's Chapel, and the modern Mary's Chapel in Bell's Wynd, form the chief halls of the remaining Corporations of Edinburgh, that have long survived all the purposes for which they were originally chartered and incorporated.

FREEMASONS.—Probably in no city in the world have the brotherhood of the mystic tie more zealously revived their ancient secret fraternisation than they did in Edinburgh during the eighteenth century. The hereditary office of grand-master, which had been granted by James II to William St. Clair of Roslin, and to his heirs and successors in the barony of Roslin, was then about to expire with the last of that old line. In 1736 William St. Clair of Roslin, the last hereditary grand-master, intimated to a chapter of the Canongate Kilwinning Lodge his intention of resigning his office into the hands of the Scottish brotherhood, in order that the office he inherited might be perpetuated by free election. The consequence was the assembly in Edinburgh on the ensuing St. Andrew's Day of a representative assembly, consisting of deputies elected by all the Scottish lodges, and thus was constituted *The Grand Lodge of Scotland.* The Scottish lodges took precedence according to seniority; the Kilwinning Lodge standing foremost, and next in order the ancient Edinburgh Lodge of St. Mary, the Canongate Kilwinning Lodge, and after it the Lodge of Perth and Scone, the more ancient seat of the Scottish government. Their lodge halls are to be found in various quarters of the town. Among the antiquities of C. K. Sharpe, Esq., is a finely carved oak door of a small press or ambry, having a figure of the Virgin in low relief on the panel, which belonged to one of the masonic lodges. In the hall of St. David's Lodge in Hyndford's Close a still more venerable antique used to be shown: an original portrait of King Solomon, painted for the first Grand Lodge at the founding of the order, while the Temple of Jerusalem was in progress! We understand, however, that some of the brethren entertain doubts of its being *quite so old*, though one octogenarian answered our inquiries by narrating an ancient legend of the burgh, which bears that certain of the Town Guard of Edinburgh were present in Jerusalem at the Crucifixion, and carried off this veritable portrait from the Temple during the commotions that ensued; all which the reader will receive and believe as a genuine old Edinburgh tradition!

The most characteristic of all the lodges of the Masonic fraternity of Edinburgh was the Roman Eagle Lodge. There was at the period of Robert Burns's first visit to Edinburgh about a dozen different masonic lodges assembling there, wherein noblemen, judges, grave professors, and learned divines, lawyers, and scholars of all sorts took their place among the mystic brotherhood in common fraternisation and equality. It was, perhaps, from an idea of creating within the masonic republic a scholarly aristocracy that should preserve one conclave sacred to their own exclusive enjoyment,

without infringing on the equality of rights in the order, that the *Roman Eagle Lodge* was founded, at whose meetings no language but Latin was allowed to be spoken. It was established, we believe, in the year 1780, by the celebrated and eccentric Dr. Brown, author of *Elementa Medicinæ*, and founder of what is termed the Brunonian System in medicine. It affords no very flattering picture of Edinburgh society at that period, to learn that this classic fraternity owed its dissolution to the excesses of its members, wherein they far surpassed their brethren in an order not specially noted as patterns of temperance. The Roman Eagle Hall in Brodie's Close still bears the name of the learned brotherhood.

V. CLAUDERO

The eccentric poet *Claudero* deserves special notice in my Memorials of Edinburgh in the olden time, as he has not only commemorated in his verse some of the most striking objects of the Old Town that have disappeared, but he appears to have been almost the sole remonstrant against their reckless demolition. James Wilson, the poet and satirist, who amused the citizens of the past century with his humorous and somewhat coarse lampoons, was a native of Cumbernauld, some of whose characters form the subject of his verse. He was a cripple, in consequence, it is said, of the merciless beating he received from his own parish minister at Cumbernauld, where he had rendered himself an object of universal hatred or fear by his mischief-loving disposition. The account of this unwonted practice of clerical discipline, given in the *Traditions of Edinburgh*, states that the occasion of Claudero's lameness was a pebble thrown from a tree at the minister, who, having been previously exasperated by his tricks, chased him to the end of a closed lane, and with his cane inflicted such personal chastisement as rendered him a cripple, and a hater of the whole body of the clergy, for the rest of his life. He went with a crutch under one arm, and a staff in the opposite hand; one withered leg swinging entirely free from the ground. The poetical merits of Claudero's compositions are of no very high order; but it can hardly be doubted, notwithstanding, that all this youthful energy which rendered him a torment to the whole village and parish, might have been turned to some good account under gentler moral suasion than his Reverence of Cumbernauld's application of *the pastoral staff* to his unruly parishioner.

Claudero had the good sense to disarm his numerous enemies of the weapon they might find in the satirist's own personal deformity, by being the first to laugh at it himself. In his *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* published in 1766, and dedicated to the renowned Peter Williamson, he remarks in the author's preface: "I am regardless of critics; perhaps some of my lines want a foot; but then, if the critic look sharp out, he will find that loss sufficiently supplied in other places where they have a foot too much; and besides men's works generally resemble themselves; if the poems are lame, so is the author!"

Claudero lived ostensibly by teaching a school, which he kept in an old tenement in the Cowgate, at the bottom of the High School Wynd. By his poetic effusions he contrived to eke out a precarious income, deriving frequent additions to his slender purse, both by furnishing lampoons to his less witty fellow-citizens who desired to take their revenge on some offending neighbour by such means; and by engaging to suppress similar effusions, which he frequently composed on some of the rich but sensitive old burghers, who willingly feed him to secure themselves against such a public pillory. He latterly added to his *professional* income by performing *half-merk* marriages: an occupation which, no doubt, afforded him additional

satisfaction, as he was thereby taking their legitimate duties out of the hands of his old enemies, the clergy.

Claudero, like other great men who have kept the world in awe, was himself subjected to a domestic rule sufficiently severe to atone to his bitterest enemies for the wrongs they suffered from his pen. His wife was an accomplished virago, whose shrewish tongue subdued the poetic fire of the poor satirist the moment he came within her sphere, though probably with little increase to her own comfort. Like other poet's helpmates, she had no doubt frequent occasion to complain of an empty larder, and the shrill notes of her usual welcome often helped to send the not unwilling bard to some favourite *howf*, with its jolly circle of boon companions.

The first piece in Claudero's collected poems is, "The Echo of the Royal Porch of the Palace of Holy-rood-House, which fell under Military Execution, Anno 1753." From this it would appear that the military guardians of the Palace had been employed in this wanton act of destruction. The poet—or rather the Echo of the Old Porch,—thus speaks of these "Sons of Mars, with black cockade"—

> "They do not always deal in blood;
> Nor yet in breaking human bones,
> For Quixot-like they knock down stones.
> Regardless they the mattock ply,
> To root out Scots antiquity."

In the same vein the poet mourns the successive demolition of other venerable antiquities of Edinburgh; generally allowing the expiring relic to set forth its own grievances. The following is the lament for the old City Cross, which, Claudero insinuates in the last line, was demolished lest its tattered and time-worn visage should shame the handsome polished front of the New Exchange; and this idea is enlarged on in the piece with which it is followed up in the collection, entitled: "The serious advice and exhortation of the Royal Exchange to the Cross of Edinburgh, immediately before its execution."

"*The last Speech and dying Words of the Cross of Edinburgh, which was hanged, drawn, and quartered on Monday the 15th March 1756, for the horrid Crime of being an Incumbrance to the Street.*

Ye sons of Scotia, mourn and weep,
Express your grief with sorrow deep;
Let aged sires be bath'd in tears,
And ev'ry heart be fill'd with fears;
Let rugged rocks with grief abound,
And Echos multiply the sound;
Let rivers, hills, let woods and plains,
Let morning dews, let winds and rains,
United join to aid my woe,
And loudly mourn my overthrow.——
For *Arthur's Ov'n* and *Edinburgh Cross*,
Have, by new schemers, got a toss;
We, heels o'er head, are tumbled down,
The modern taste is *London* town.
I was built up in *Gothic* times,
And have stood several hundred reigns;
Sacred my mem'ry and my name,
For kings and queens I did proclaim.
I peace and war did oft' declare,
And roused my country ev'ry where:
Your ancestors around me walk'd;
Your kings and nobles 'side me talk'd;
And lads and lasses, with delight,
Set tryst with me to meet at night;
No tryster e'er was at a loss,
For why, *I'll meet you at the Cross.*
I country people did direct
Through all the city with respect,
Who missing me, will look as droll
As mariners without the pole.
On me great men have lost their lives,
And for a *maiden* left their wives.
Low rogues likeways oft' got a peg
With turnip, ——, or rotten egg;
And when the mob did miss their butt,
I was bedaubed like any slut.
With loyal men, on loyal days,
I dress'd myself in lovely bays,

And with sweet apples treat the crowd,
While they huzza'd around me loud.
Professions many have I seen,
And never have disturbed been,
I've seen the *Tory* party slain,
And *Whigs* exulting o'er the plain:
I've seen again the *Tories* rise,
And with loud shouting pierce the skies,
Then crown their king, and chase the *Whig*
From *Pentland-hill* to *Bothwell-brig*.
I've seen the cov'nants by all sworn,
And likewise seen them burnt and torn.
I neutral stood, as peaceful *Quaker*,
With neither side was I partaker.
I wish my life had longer been,
That I might greater ferlies seen;
Or else like other things decay,
Which Time alone doth waste away:
But since I now must lose my head,
I, at my last, this lesson read:
'Tho' wealth, and youth, and beauty shine,
And all the graces round you twine,
Think on your end, nor proud behave,
There's nothing sure this side the grave.'
Ye jolly youths, with richest wine,
Who drunk my dirge, for your propine,
I do bequeath my lasting boon:
May heav'n preserve you late and soon:
May royal wine, in royal bowls,
And lovely women cheer your souls,
Till by old age you gently die,
To live immortal in the sky.
To own my faults I have no will,
For I have done both good and ill;
As to the crime for which I die,
To my last gasp, *Not guilty, I.*
But to this magisterial hate
I shall assign the pristine date.
When the intrepid, matchless Charles
Came here with many Highland Carls,
And o'er my top, in public sight,
Proclaim'd aloud his Father's Right;
From that day forth it was agreed,
That I should as a Rebel bleed;
And at this time they think it meet
To snatch my fabric off the street,
Lest I should tell to them once more
The tale I told ten years before.
At my destroyers bear no grudge,
Nor do you stain their mason-lodge,
Tho' well may all by-standers see
That better masons built up me.
The royal statue in the close
Will share the fate of me, poor Cross;
Heav'ns, earth, and seas, all in a range,
Like me, will perish for *Exchange*."

Few civic events connected with the destruction of old, or the rearing of new buildings, escape the poet's notice. One poem records the repair of the Abbey Church; another mourns the rifling of its sepulchres; a third refers to the laying the foundation-stone of St. Bernard's Mineral Well, 15th September 1760; while between these are lampoons and eulogies on old citizens, most of them long since forgotten. The fate of the Nether Bow Port, which he witnessed, forms the subject of some of his wittiest prose, in "A Sermon preached by Claudero, on the Condemnation of the Nether Bow Porch of Edinburgh, 9th July 1764, before a crowded audience." A brief extract from this will suffice for an example of his humour, which is the more curious, as what was then extravagant hyperbole sounds now like the shrewdest foresight—

"What was too hard for the great ones of the earth, yea even queens, to effect, is now, even now in our day, accomplished. No patriot duke opposeth the scheme, as did the great Argyll in the grand senate of our nation; therefore the project shall go into execution, and down shall Edina's lofty porches be hurled with a vengeance.—Streets shall be extended to the east, regular and beautiful, as far as the Frigate Whins; and Porto Bello shall be a lodge for the captors of tea and brandy. The city shall be joined to Leith on the north, and a procession of wise masons shall there lay the foundation of a spacious harbour. Pequin or Nanquin shall not be able to compare with Edina for magnificence. Our city shall be the greatest wonder of the world; and the fame of its glory shall reach the distant ends of the earth.

"No more shall the porch resound to the hammer of the cheerful Zaccheus; and his neighbours are bathed in tears at the overthrow of his well-tuned anvil.

"The Nether Bow coffee-house of the loyal Smieton can now no longer enjoy its

ancient name with propriety; and from henceforth *The Revolution Coffee-house* shall its name be called.

"Our gates must be extended wide for accommodating the gilded chariots, which, from the luxury of the age, are become numerous.—With an impetuous career they jostle against one another in our streets, and the unwary foot-passenger is in danger of being crushed to pieces.

"The loaded cart itself cannot withstand their fury, and the hideous yells of Coal Johnie resound through the vaulted sky.—The sour-milk barrels are overturned, and deluges of Corstorphin cream run down our strands, while the poor unhappy milk-maid wrings her hands with sorrow.

"Who then can blame the wise guardians of Edina, whose greatest care is the preservation of her people, and the safety of her inhabitants?—Be hush, therefore, ye malevolent tongues, let sedition perish, and animosities be forgotten."

This is followed by a soliloquy of the old Port, narrating some facts in its own history not unworthy of being recorded—

"*The last Speech, Confession, and dying Words of the Nether Bow Porch of Edinburgh, which was exposed to roup and sale on Thursday the 9th of August* 1764.

"I was erected by King James VI of ever-glorious memory, whose effigies was put up on my inside, and stood there, till demolished by *Cromwell* the Usurper. My inscription is as follows—

Anag.
Aris excubo.
Jacobus Rex.
Non sic excubiæ, nec circumstantia pila,
Ut tutatur amor.—

Englished thus—

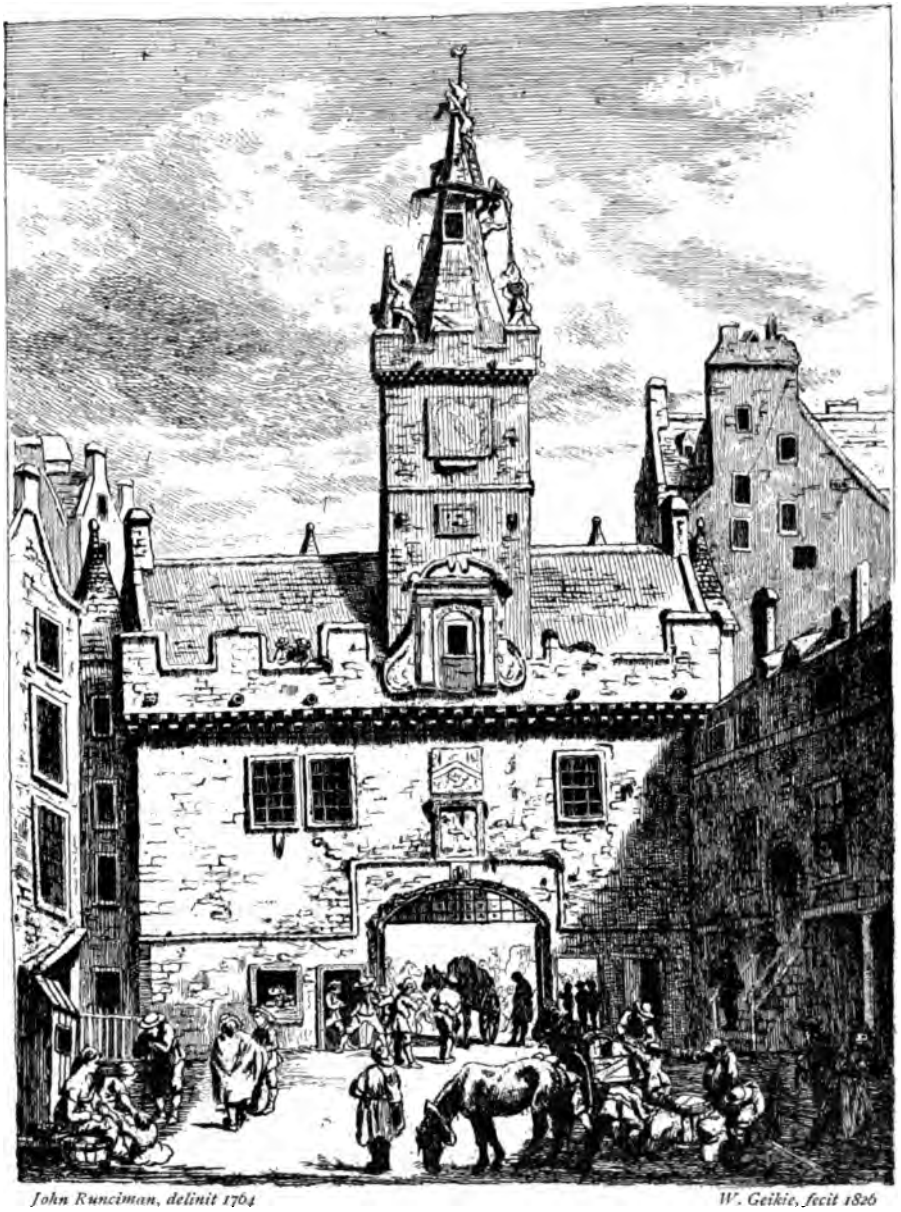
Watch-towr's and thund'ring walls vain fences prove,
No guards to monarchs like their people's love.
Jacobus VI. Rex, Anna Regina 1606.

"May my clock be struck dumb in the other world if I lie in this; and may Mack, the reformer of *Edina's* lofty spires, never bestride my weather-cock on high, if I deviate from truth in these my last words. Tho' my fabric shall be levelled with the dust of the earth, yet I fall in hope, that my Cock shall be exalted on some more modern dome, where it shall shine like the burnished gold, reflecting the rays of the sun to the eyes of ages unborn. The daring Mack shall yet look down from my Cock, high in the airy region, to the brandy shops below, where large grey-beards shall appear to him no bigger than mutchkin bottles, and mutchkin bottles shall be in his sight like the spark of a diamond.

"Many, alas! have been my crimes, but the greatest of all was, receiving the head of the brave Marquis of Montrose from the hands of dastardly miscreants," etc.

What the exact date or the incidents that marked the close of the poet's history were, we are not aware, though it is not very difficult to guess the probable career of such a worshipper at the shrines of Bacchus and the Muses. We learn from his poems that he visited London in 1765—if we are safe in drawing such an inference from any declaration of his verse. He seems to hint at a final abandonment of Edinburgh: its tasteless citizens being left free to get a bill for removing not the Cross alone, but even King Charles's statue, the pride of the Scottish capital, from Parlia-

ment Close, without any one molesting them with remonstrance in prose or rhyme.



THE NETHER BOW PORT.

All classes are represented as mourning the loss of this personification of virtue, clad in satiric guise. There is no doubt, however, that he died at Edinburgh in 1789,

after having been one of the most noted among the minor characters in its compact little community for upwards of thirty years. His ghost may address the bereaved capital on his final exit, in a verse of the "Epistle to Claudero, on his arrival at London, 1765"—

"Now vice may rear her hydra's head,
And strike defenceless virtue dead;
Religion's heart may melt and bleed
With grief and sorrow,
Since satire from your streets is fled,
Poor Edinburrow!"

VI. CHARLES KIRKPATRICK SHARPE

In the select circles of Edinburgh society in early years of the present century few were more worthy of note than Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe. Born of a good Scottish

THE OLD TOWN GUARD. C. K. S.

family, and related by descent to some of the oldest Scottish nobility; he was interesting as a representative of the high-bred courtesy and old-fashioned, stately reserve of times when kings and queens still kept court at Holyrood. But beyond this, as the friend of Scott and of Surtees of Mainsforth; a contributor both to the antique and modern contents of *The Border Minstrelsy*; and editor, among other antiquarian rarities, of his own choice *Ballad Book*, characteristically issued from the press in 1823, in an edition of thirty copies: he claimed a special niche among the *literati* of "Modern Athens."

The dispersion, in 1851, of the collection of rare antiques and objects of vértu which had won for his house in Drummond Place (No. 28) the title of the Scottish Strawberry Hill, disclosed a choice miscellany, of unique character, till then known only to the privileged few who had the *entrée* to the abode of the sensitive recluse. But among the most characteristic of his specialties was his skill with the pencil and the etching needle. Scott says of him in his *Journal*: "Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe is a very remarkable man. He has infinite wit, and a great turn for antiquarian lore. His drawings are the most fanciful and droll imaginable—a mixture between Hogarth and some of those foreign masters who painted temptations of St. Anthony and such grotesque subjects." A quarto volume of his etchings and of photographs of some of his drawings was published in 1869. He took a lively interest in these *Memorials* when the first edition was passing through the press; criticising its contents with quaint marginal notes, some of which have been reproduced in the *Reminiscences of Old Edinburgh*. The etching of Wright's Houses on p. 179 of this volume is a contribution made by him to its illustrations of effaced relics of the past. He also amused himself with sketching sportive caricatures when a blank space on the proof sheet gave room for the free play of his pencil. One of these had already been referred to when describing the last haunt of the Old Town Guard (*ante*, vol. i. p. 245). It is here reproduced on a less reduced scale. In the freest sport of his satirical vein as a caricaturist, he has written underneath: "Two of the Town Guard as I remember them basking in the sun, half-drunk, on a bench at the Tolbooth!"

VII. ST GILES'S CHURCH

The ground-plan of St. Giles's Church is designed to illustrate the description of the successive additions to the ancient Parish Church of Edinburgh, given in the concluding chapter (vol. ii. pp. 217-238). It exhibits it as it existed previous to the alterations of 1829, and with the adjacent buildings which have been successively removed during the present century. We are indebted for the original drawing to the Rev. John Sime, chaplain of Trinity Hospital, whose ingenious model of the old church, with the Tolbooth, Luckenbooths, etc., has already been referred to.

References to the Ground-plan

The light subdivisions between the pillars mark the party walls with which the ancient church was partitioned off into several places of worship. The large letters of reference in each mark the earliest sites of their pulpits. *H* shows the old position of Dr. Webster's pulpit in the Tolbooth Church, from which it was removed about the year 1792 to its latter position against the south wall, in front of the old turnpike, now demolished. *K* indicates the site of the old pulpit of the High Kirk, from whence it was removed about the years 1775-80, to its final position in front of the great east window. Previous to this alteration the king's seat projected in front of the pillar directly opposite the pulpit, so that his majesty, or the successive representatives of royalty who occupied it, were within a convenient conversational distance of the preacher. This throws considerable light on the frequent indecorous colloquies that were wont to ensue between James VI and the preachers in the High Kirk; and shows how very pointed and irritating to royalty must have been the rebukes and personalities in which the divines of that day were accustomed to indulge, seated as his majesty thus was, *vis-à-vis* with his uncourtly chaplain, like a culprit on the stool

of repentance. King James, however, used to bandy words with the preacher with a tolerably good-natured indifference to the dignity of the Crown.

The following references will enable the reader to find without difficulty the chief objects of interest in St. Giles's Church, alluded to in the course of the work.

a The Preston or Assembly Aisle, where the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland held its annual sessions previous to 1829.

b The Montrose Aisle.

c The Tomb of John, fourth Earl of Atholl.

d The Tomb of the Regent Murray.

e Door which stood always open during the day, approached by a flight of steps from the Parliament Close.

f Ancient Tomb (described vol. ii. p. 227), said to be that of William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, created Earl of Caithness by James II in 1455. The whole of this chapel to the west of the buttress and centre pillar is now removed.

g The South Porch, built in 1387. The beautiful doorway has been rebuilt between the south pillars of the tower, as an entrance to the *Old Kirk*. [In the later restorations of 1881 it has been transferred to the east end of the Preston aisle.] Above this Porch was a vestry, which, with the turret staircase indicated in the plan, and the beautiful little dormer window that lighted the Priest's Chamber, disappeared under the hands of the *restorers*.

h The five Chapels built in 1387. The two west ones are now demolished.

i The Pillar of the Albany Chapel (*vide* vol. ii. p. 229), decorated with the arms of Robert, Duke of Albany, and the Earl of Douglas.

k The ancient North Porch, with fine Norman doorway, demolished about 1798. The room above, entered by the narrow turnpike stair indicated in the plan, was the place of confinement of Sir John Gordon of Haddo in 1644. This and the adjoining chapel to the east are now entirely removed.

l A modern Doorway into Haddo's Hold Kirk, now built up.

m Modern North Doorway to the Old Kirk.

n Entrance to the old Belfry Turret, being a passage partitioned off from St. Eloi's Chapel, nearly the whole site of which is now occupied with the new Belfry Turret.

o North Transept and Aisle, used as the City Clerk's Chambers.

p Opening under the Belfry.

q Modern North Entrances to the High Kirk, now built up.

r The Napier Tomb.

s Our Lady's Niche.

t Modern South Entrance to the High Kirk, now built up.

u Entrance to the Assembly Aisle.

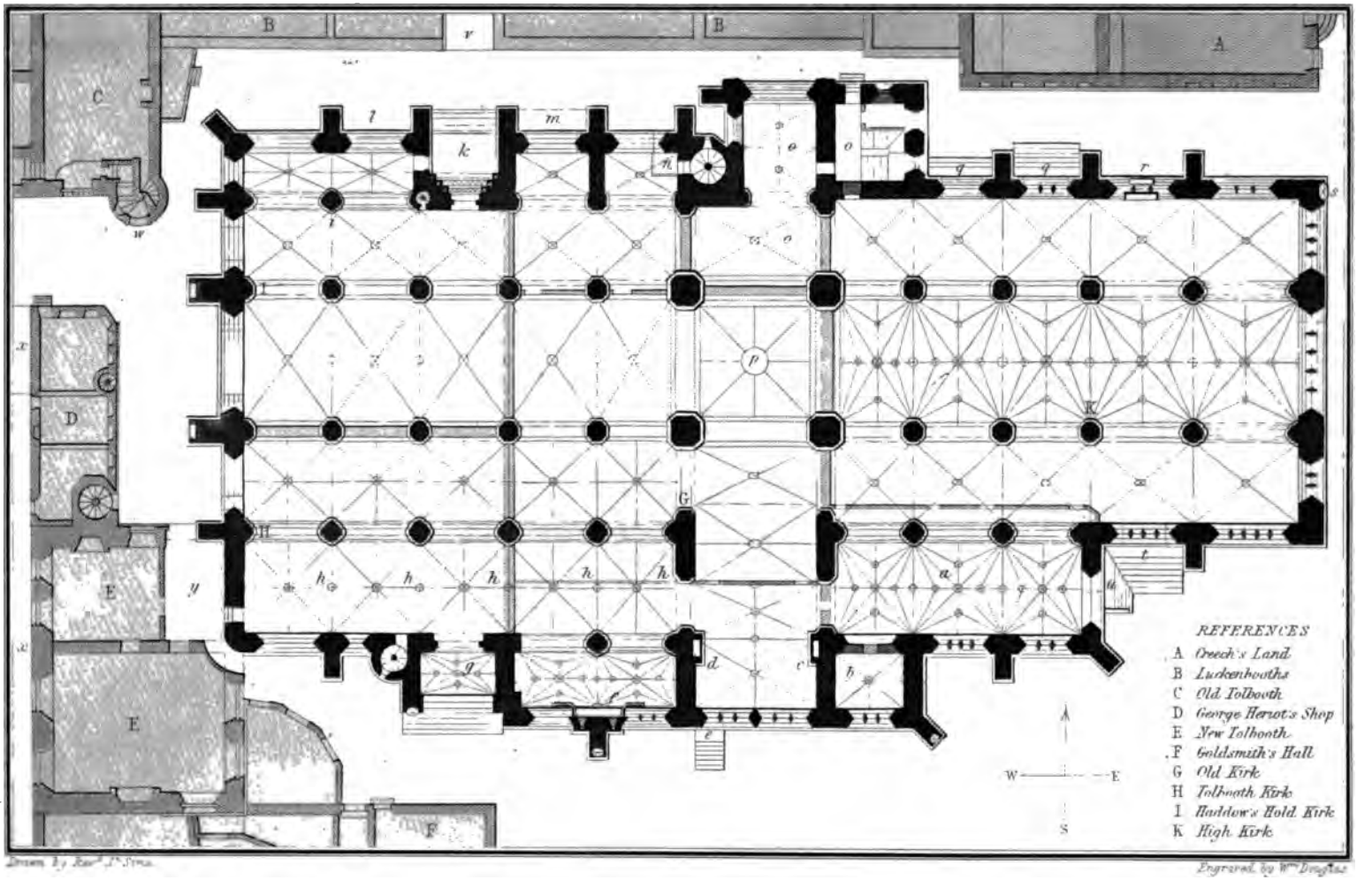
v Old Kirk Style, or Stinking Style.

w Entrance to the Old Tolbooth, assaulted by the Porteous Mob in 1736, and now rebuilt at Abbotsford.

x Beth's or Bess Wynd.

y Covered Passage from the Tolbooth to Parliament Close, through the New Tolbooth or Council House.

It is not unworthy of notice here that the Town Council Records prove that the different chaplainries of St. Giles's Church were held long after the Reformation had pulled down the altars and abolished their services. In September 1620 "James Lennox is elected chaplain of the Chapelry of the Holy Rood and Holy Crose, in



GROUND PLAN OF ST GILES'S CHURCH

PREVIOUS TO 1829.

the Burgh Kirk Yard of Saint Giles." This, no doubt, refers to the chapel founded and endowed by Walter Chepman in 1528. Every vestige of the chapel had disappeared half a century before, and it is doubtful if even the site then remained in use as a churchyard, or cemetery, at the date of this election; though it is probable that the "*Nether Kirkyard*" remained in use long after the upper yard had been abandoned as a place of sepulture. So late as 4th March 1629, "John Yair is elected chaplane of St. Ninean's Altar in the College Kirk of St. Giles."

ST. GILES'S CHURCHYARD.—In Edgar's map of Old Edinburgh there is shown about the middle of Forrester's Wynd, on the east side, a small open court, which retained till near the close of last century distinct marks of having formed the entrance to the lower Churchyard of St. Giles. It was pointed out as such early in the present century to the Rev. John Sime, by Mr. Cunningham, the builder of Portobello Tower, —a fabric wherein the chief sculptured stones and other relics of the ancient tenements demolished to make way for the South Bridge have been preserved. Mr. Cunningham described a curious piece of sculpture, emblematic of death, which appropriately decorated the lintel of the ancient gateway through which our forefathers were wont to be borne to their last resting-place. It is the same sculptured lintel, we have no doubt, which is thus alluded to in the *Edinburgh Magazine* for July 1800: "A long stone, on which was curiously sculptured a group resembling *Holbein's Dance of Death*, was some months ago discovered at the head of Forrester's Wynd, which in former days was the western boundary of St. Giles's High Churchyard. This relic was much defaced, and broken in two, by being carelessly tossed down by the workmen. It was a curious piece. Amid other musicians who brought up the rear, was an angel playing on the Highland bagpipe: a national conceit which appears also on the entablature of one of the pillars of the supremely elegant Gothic chapel at Roslin." It is to be regretted that this singular specimen of early Scottish art no longer exists. It should have been preserved in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

OAK COFFINS.—A description is given (vol. ii. p. 151) of the discovery of oaken coffins on the site of the lower churchyard in 1844; the following notices of the Town Council Records indicate the date and reason of their disuse. An Act of Council, 30th September 1618, "Discharges Oak Kists to be made for burials of the deceased persones within the Brough." This, however, must have met with very slight attention, the ancient usages in reference to the burial of the dead being in all countries and states of society the most difficult to eradicate. Another Act of the Town Council, in February 1635, prohibits the *Oak Kists* being brought to the Greyfriars Churchyard, "The burial place in Greyfriars being scarce capable of the dead bodies occasioned through Wainscott Kists." Even this failed in securing sufficient room for the dead, and an Act of Town Council, dated 1st April 1636, provides for the augmentation of the Greyfriars' burial-ground.

VIII. THE PILLORY

BRANDING AND MUTILATING.—The strange and barbarous punishments recorded both by old diarists, and in the Scottish criminal records, as put in force at the Cross or Tron of Edinburgh, afford no inapt illustration of the gradual and very slow abandonment of the cruel practices of uncivilised times. In the sixteenth century burning or branding on the cheeks, cutting off the ears, and the like savage mutilations were frequently adjudged for slight crimes or misdemeanours. On the 5th May 1530, for example, "William Kar oblissis him that he sall nocht be sene into the fische merkat,

nother byand nor selland fische, vnder the pane of cutting of his lug and bannasing of the toune, bot gif he haif ane horse of his aune till bring fische to the merket till sell vniuersale as vther strangearis dois till our Souerane Lordis legis."—(Acts and Statutes of the Burgh of Edinburgh, *Mait. Misc.*, vol. ii. p. 101.) At this period the Greyfriars' or Bristo Port appears to have been a usual scene for such judicial terrors. On the 1st July 1530, "Patrick Gowanlok fleschour, duelland in the Abbot of Melrosis lugying within this toune," is banished the town for ever, under pain of death, for harbouring a woman infected with the pestilence; "And als that the half of his moveable gudis be applyit to the commoun workis of this toune for his defalt, And als that his seruand woman callit Jonet Cowane, quhilk is infekkit, for hir conceling the said seiknes, and passand in pilgrimage, scho haiffand the pestilens apone hir, that scho salbe brynt on baith the cheikis and bannist this toune for ever vnder the pane of deid. *And quha that lykis till see justice execute in this mater, that thai cum to the Grayfrier port incontinent quhar thai sall se the samyn put till executioun.*"—(*Ibid.* p. 106.)

Drowning.—Of a different nature is the following scene, enacted in the year 1530 without the Greyfriars' Port, which was then an unenclosed common on the outskirts of the Borough Moor, and remained in that state till it was included within the precincts of the latest extension of the town walls in 1618. Drowning in the North Loch, and elsewhere, was a frequent punishment inflicted on females. "The quhilk day Katryne Heriot is convict be ane assise for the thiftus steling and conseling of twa stekis of bukrum within this tovne, and als of commoun theift, and als for the bringing of this contagius seiknes furth of Leith to this toune, and brekin of the statutis maid tharapone, For the quhilk causes *scho is adiugit to be drounit in the Quarell hollis at the Grayfrere port, now incontinent*, and that wes gevin for dome."—(*Ibid.* p. 113.) The workmen engaged in draining the ancient bed of the North Loch in the spring of 1820 discovered a large coffin of thick fir deals, containing apparently the skeletons of a man and two women; which, says Mr. Skene, in narrating the discovery, "corresponds singularly with the fact of a man of the name of Sinclair, and two sisters, with both of whom he was convicted of having committed incest, being drowned in the North Loch in the year 1628."—(*Archæologia Scotica*, vol. ii. p. 474.)

Boring Perjurers' Tongues.—The Acts of Sederunt of the Court of Session abound with evidence of similar cruel practices of early times. On the 13th June 1561 Mongo Steivenston, convicted of being "perjurett and mainsworn," is ordered to be punished "be persing throw the toung, and escheiting all his movabill guds to our Soverane Lady's use," and the Provost and Magistrates are required to proceed forthwith to the Market Cross, and put the same in execution. In another case of supposed perjury, on the 29th June 1579, the King's advocate produces a royal warrant for examining "Iohne Souttar, notar, and Robert Carmylie, vicar of Ruthwenis; and for the mair certane tryale of the veritie in the said matter, to put thaim in the buttis, genis, or ony uther tormentis, and thairby to urge thaim to declair the treuth."

Another era was that of the Douglas wars, when the highest crime that could be committed by the peasantry of the Lothians was the carrying provisions to the beleaguered capital; and accordingly many poor men, and a still greater number of women, were mutilated and hanged, simply for being caught bringing coals, salt, or garden stuffs to Edinburgh. Coming down, however, to more recent and peaceful times, we find similar modes of punishment adopted in the seventeenth century. In the Acts of Sederunt, 6th February 1650, "The Lords found John Lawsone, indwellar in Leith, to be a false lying witnes, and alse ane false informer of an assize; and ordaines him to be set upon the Trone ane hour, and his tongue to be bored with ane

yrone, and thereafter to be dismissed. And in lyke manner find John Rob to be ane false informer of witnesses; and ordain him to be set upon the Trone, and his lugg to be nailed to the Trone be the space of ane hour, and thereafter to be dismissed. And declares both the persons forsaids to be *infamous* in all tyme coming; and their haill moveables to be escheat to his Majestie's use."

COMMONWEALTH PUNISHMENTS.—Towards the close of the year 1650 an entire change took place in the administration of justice, by the transfer of the government to the nominees of Cromwell and of the English Parliament. Their rule is generally allowed to have been impartial, but the modes of punishment in use continued to be of the same barbarous character as already described. Nicoll remarks in his *Diary* for December 1651 (p. 69): "It wes observed, that in the Englische airmy thair wes oftymes guid discipline aganes drunkinnes, fornicatioun, and uncleanes; quhipping fornicatouris, and geving thame thrie doukis in the sea, and causing drunkardis ryd the trie meir, with stoppis and muskettis tyed to thair leggis and feit, a paper on thair breist, and a drinking cop in thair handis; and by schuitting to death sindrie utheris quha haid committed mutinie."

The next entry we shall quote from the old diarist introduces us to a new crime, brought about by the political changes of that eventful period, and for which we find a novelty introduced in the mode of punishing that unruly member, *the Tongue*: "Last of September 1652.—Twa Englisches, for drinking the Kingis helth, war takin and bund to the gallous at Edinburgh Croce, quhair ather of thame resavit threttie nyne quhipes upon thair naiked bakes and shoulderis, thaireftir thair lugges wer naillit to the gallous. The ane haid his lug cuttit from the ruitt with a resour; the uther being also naillit to the gibbet, haid his mouth skobit, and his tong being drawn out the full lenth, was bund togidder betuix twa stickes hard togidder with ane skainzie threid the space of half ane hour or thairby."

One or two more notices from the same gossiping chronicle of the seventeenth century will suffice to illustrate the tender mercies of the Commonwealth rule in Edinburgh—

"26 Marche 1655.—Mr. Patrik Maxwell, ane arrant decevar, wes brocht to the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh, quhair a pillorie wes erectit, gairdit and convoyed with a company of sodgeris; and thair, eftir ane full houris standing on that pillorie, with his heid and handis lyand out at hoillis cuttit out for that end, his rycht lug was cuttit af; and thaireftir careyit over to the toun of St. Johnnestoun, quhair ane uther pillorie wes erectit, on the quhilk the uther left lug wes cuttit af him. The caus heirof was this; that he haid gevin out fals calumneis and leyis aganes Collonell Daniell, governour of Peirth. Bot the treuth is, he was ane notorious decevar, and ane intelligencer, sumtyme for the Englisches, uther tymes for the Scottis, and decevand both of thame; besyde mony uther prankis quhilk wer tedious to writt."

"Last of Apryle 1655.—The Marschellis man, quha wes apoynted to haif cuttit Mr. Patrik Maxwell haill lug, bot being buddit [bribed] did onlie cutt af a pairt of his lug, was thairfoir this day brocht to the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh, and set upone the pillarie, and thair his lug boirit for not obeying his commissioun in that poynt."

"23 Marche 1657.—Thair wes ane Englische sodger bund naikit to the gallous of Edinburgh, and first scourgit, and thaireftir his lugges naillit to the gallous by the space of ane hour or thairby, and thairefter his lugges cuttit out of his heid for cunzieing and forging two halff crounes. The quhich two half crounes war festned and naillit to the gibet, quhair they remayne to this day."

These are only the minor punishments inflicted on offenders. The same annalist

records hanging and burning for more heinous crimes, with painful frequency; proving either a period of unusual depravity, or of unwonted strictness in searching after secret offences that are now scarcely ever heard of before our criminal courts.

The mode of public pillory, by nailing the offender's ear to the Tron, continued in use in the eighteenth century, though it was latterly only resorted to for the punishment of graver offenders, others being simply exposed, with a label affixed to them publishing their infamy. On the 24th July 1700, as appears by the Acts of Sederunt, John Corse of Corsemiln was convicted of using a vitiated bond, the same having been altered with his knowledge, "and therefore the Lords ordain the said John to be sent to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, and from thence on Friday next, before eleven o'clock in the forenoon, to be taken by the hands of the common hangman to the Tron, and there to have his ear nailed to the Tron, and to stand so nailed till twelve hours strike, and to have these words in great letters fixed on his breast, as he goes down the street, and upon the Tron, *For his knowledge of, and using a vitiate bond.*"

NOSE-PINCHING.—The following notices of a still later date show the same process of nailing continued, with the addition of an entirely novel means of torture, called Nose-Pinching. This, we presume, must have been effected by screwing some instrument like a hand-vice on the nose, which, in addition to the acute pain it inflicted, must have presented a ludicrous appearance to the unsympathising bystanders, as the culprit stood nailed to the post with his *pincher* dangling from his nose, hugging, as it were, the instruments of his torture. The following notices are extracted from a "List of Precedents excerpte from the Records of Warrands to vouch the use and exercise of the Town of Edinburgh's Jurisdiction of Sheriffship by the Lord Provost and Baillies."

"29th October 1723.—The Trial and process against James Stewart, alias M'Pherson, a vagrant thief, whipt and sent to the Correction House for life."

"28 December 1726.—The Trial against George Melvil, notour thief; set on the trone, and his nose pinch'd."

"17 October 1727.—The Trial against David Allison for theft. Pillar'd, pinch'd in the nose, and sent to the Correction House."

"29 March 1728.—The Trial against Jean Spence, notour thief: pillar'd, her lug nailed, and her nose pinched."

INDEX

In Part I. of this Work, the incidents are related in chronological order, and in Part II. according to a systematic arrangement indicated in the heading of the several chapters. By a reference to the Contents at the beginning of the volumes, any historical event, or the description of a particular locality, may be readily found. The Index is intended as a guide to incidental notices throughout these volumes, and, to render it more complete, all noblemen mentioned merely by their titles in the course of the work are here distinguished from one another by their proper names, and other individuals generally by some distinctive title or description.

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